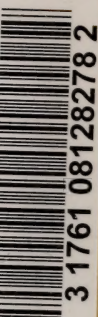


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THE  
MESSIANIC IDEAL OF ISAIAH

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE  
IN PART FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR  
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
JUNE 1917

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## THE MESSIANIC IDEAL OF ISAIAH

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## INTRODUCTION

In the first thirty-nine chapters of the book of Isaiah four passages are especially important in determining the course of the development of the Messianic ideal of Israel, namely 1:24-27; 9:1-6; 10:33-11:10 (or as usually cited 11:1-9), and 32:1-6(?). These four passages agree in describing a political kingdom with a definite government distinct from the rule of Jahveh Himself.

The fact that the book of Isaiah, as it now stands, was compiled some time after the exile from smaller collections of unrelated fragments, many of which first circulated independently, and gradually came to be associated with Isaiah, is now too generally accepted by biblical scholars to need discussion here. Obviously, then, the presence of a particular passage in the compilation proves nothing concerning the identity of its author. It is in the book simply because a compiler considered it worthy of preservation. A large number of passages are clearly post-exilic in form and content (e. g. the oracle against Babylon, ch. 13); also many of the sections which as clearly belong to the eighth century contain explanations and additions of a much later date. The proportion of early and of late material in the several independent collections differs considerably. In chs. 2-12, for instance, the relative amount of Isaianic material is larger than in any other part of the book. In chs. 28-32, on the other hand, the few passages which may have been utterances of Isaiah are almost hidden by the accumulations of later matter. Nevertheless, for the dating of any particular passage within the various collections we must depend on internal evidence alone.

Among the passages of which the theme is the future prosperity of Israel, by far the larger number are unhesitatingly assigned by modern scholars to a period during or after the exile—in many of them, indeed, the exile is presupposed as the historical background. The most important of such predictions are chs. 11:11-12:6; 24-27; 35. These passages are distinctly



eschatological in character. Jahveh will shake the earth 24:18, 19, punish Leviathan 27:1, divide the river 11:15b, dry up the sea 11:15a, cause streams to rise in the wilderness 35:6b, etc.; the return of Israel from exile and the establishment of the world supremacy of Zion are to be effected by the direct action of the miraculous power of Jahveh 11:11-12; 11:15-16; 12:1-6; 25:9, 10; 26:5, 12, 13, 21; 27:1; 35:4; all the world will then acknowledge His power 24:14-15; 25:3, 7; 26:16; and Jahveh Himself will reign in Jerusalem 12:6; 24:23; 25:6, 10; 26:13—ideas which are all characteristic of Jewish thought in the centuries after the exile. Of a similar type are a number of shorter passages (2:2-4; 4:2-6; 17:12-14; 28:5, 6; 29:17-24; 30:18-30; 32:15-20; 33:13-24) which probably belong to the same period.

In direct contrast to such passages are the four already mentioned, in which the restored glory of Jerusalem is pictured as directly the work of the human ruler of the nation, although the ruler is of course the sign of Jahveh's favor to His chosen people. 16:1-5 is not to be included with them since, although v. 5 promises one sitting on a throne "in the tent of David," the character of the section is quite different. The reference to the ruler is here merely incidental in a prophecy which is chiefly concerned with the fate of Moab; while in the other passages the ruler is the chief figure. 16:1-5 is an insertion in the oracle against Moab 15:1-16:12, which 16:13-14 expressly states to be a quotation. The whole passage is probably late—should perhaps be dated in the same period as the book of Ruth<sup>1</sup>—and verse 5 is best understood as an allusion to an idea which had long been a part of Jewish expectation. 4:2 ff.; 7:10-25, and 8:5-8 are also omitted since modern exegesis and textual criticism have proved conclusively that they were not intended to have a Messianic significance. In 4:2 the phrase "branch of Jahveh" is obviously parallel to "fruit of the land," so that a personal interpretation is extremely improbable.<sup>2</sup> 7:10 ff. is evidently, from the context, a definite prediction of time;<sup>3</sup> while 8:8 should be read אֶרֶץ כִּי עֲמֵנוּ אֵל, ending with the same refrain

<sup>1</sup> G. B. Gray, "Isaiah" (*Int. Crit. Com.*), 1911, pp. 275-277.

<sup>2</sup> Duhm, *Jesaia*, p. 29, Göttingen, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> For discussion see below, p. 197 f.

as 8:10<sup>4</sup> and thus containing no reference to an expected Messiah.

### TEXT AND ANALYSIS OF THE SPECIFICALLY MESSIANIC PASSAGES

To determine whether these four Messianic predictions (1:24-27; 9:1-6; 10:33-11:10; 32:1-6(?)) originated after the destruction of Jerusalem or whether they form an integral part of the message which Isaiah brought to his people, a study of the passages themselves is the first essential.

1:24-27 is a part of a twelve line poem, beginning with verse 21, which is universally ascribed to Isaiah. The date is uncertain. Duhm refers it to the Syro-Ephraimitic war, while Cheyne and Marti date it about 705 B. C. The poem, which is in the Kīnah or 3:2 metre, is usually considered to end at verse 26, although this leaves the second strophe half a line short. I am inclined to include verse 27 which is also a 3:2 line and omit the rather colorless beginning of verse 25 which in the present text scans 3:3:2. Verses 28 ff. are a late prose addition describing the fate of the wicked, a subject with which verse 27 has no connection. Also it seems somewhat unnatural that the supplementer of the poem should have begun his addition in the metre of the poem and continued it in prose. There is no linguistic argument against verse 27; the parallelism with צִדְקָה requires מִשְׁפָּט to mean "just judgement" as often in Isaiah and not "judgement day."<sup>5</sup> Although the word פָּדָה is not found elsewhere in Isaiah, it occurs twice in Hosea,<sup>6</sup> thus showing that it was in use in Isaiah's time.<sup>7</sup> Verse 27, then, would be an allusion to Hezekiah's contemplated offer of tribute to Sennacherib (II Kings 18:13-16), which according to Isaiah's view would be useless without the intervention of Jahveh—an intervention conditioned on the reformation of the nation. Marti<sup>8</sup> suggests that v. 23 refers to the alliance with Egypt of which Isaiah strongly disapproved. The poem would thus

<sup>4</sup> Duhm, *ibi.*, p. 56 (ed. 1902); Marti, *Jesaja*, p. 85, Tübingen, 1900.

<sup>5</sup> G. B. Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 36.

<sup>6</sup> Hos. 7:13; 13:14.

<sup>7</sup> Cheyne, *Introduction to Isaiah*, p. 7.

<sup>8</sup> Marti, *Jesaja*, p. 20.



date at some time during the blockade of Jerusalem by Sennacherib, before the retirement of the Assyrian army.

1: 21-27.

21. A harlot she has become,  
the city of trust.  
With justice was Zion once filled,  
within her dwelt right.
22. Thy silver is but dross,  
thy drink impure.
23. Unruly are those ruling thee,  
companions of thieves.  
Everyone of them loves a bribe,  
and seeks a reward.  
No widow's cause they decide,  
no orphan they judge.
24. Hence speaks Jahveh of Hosts,  
Israel's might:  
On mine enemy I take revenge,  
and vengeance on my foe.
25. In fire will I cleanse thy dross,  
purge all thine alloy,
26. Restore thy judges as at first,  
thy counsellors as of old.  
Then righteous shalt thou be called,  
the city of trust.
27. By justice shall Zion be redeemed,  
her inhabitants by right.

21 a איכה היתה לזונה

קריה נאמנה

ציון מלאתי משפט b

צדק ילין-בה

22 כספך היה לסיגים

סבאך מהול

23 a שריך היו סררים

חברי גנבים

- כלו אהב שחר b  
 רדף שלמנים  
 ריב אלמנה לא-יבינו c  
 יתום לא-ישפטו
- לכן-נאם הארון יהוה-צבאות 24 a  
 אביר ישראל  
 הוי אנחם מצרי b  
 ואנקמה מאויבי  
 ואצרף בכר סיגך 25  
 ואסירה כל-בריליך  
 ואשיבה שפטיך כבראשנה 26 a  
 ויעצרך כבתחלה  
 אחרי-כן יקרא-לך עיר-הצדק b  
 קריה נאמנה  
 ציוי במשפט תפרה 27  
 וישיבה בצדקה

21b. ציון added from the Greek. The verse is too long by two accents. The final ועתה מרצחים is an awkward change to the concrete and may easily be a gloss, perhaps suggested by verse 15. (Cf. Duhm, p. 11; followed by Marti, p. 17; Gray, p. 33.)

22. כמים apparently added to explain מהול which is more probably to be taken as *olive juice*, cf. Ar. *mahl* (cf. Gray, p. 36). Ken. 3 Mss. read כמים.

23a. הוי added by Budde (ZAW., 1891, p. 246); it improves the metre and also keeps the first half the line parallel in form to 21a and 22. וחברי = חברי, omit ו with 6 and Ken. 4 Mss.

23b. ורדף = רדף, omit ו with 6 and Ken. 1 Ms.

23c. לא יבוא אליהם = לא-יבינו. Read with 6, καὶ κρίσιν... οὐ προσέχοντες. The two parts of 23c are transposed in the present text and versions, making the metre 2:3 (cf. Gray, pp. LXV, 31).



25. The verse as it stands scans 3:3:2; the first clause, **וַאֲשִׁיבָה יְדִי עָלָיו** is a fairly common expression, cf. Am. 1:8, Jer. 6:9, Ez. 38:12, Zech. 13:7, Ps. 81:15; it seems, therefore, probable that it arose by dittography from the beginning of the next verse or was inserted by some copyist. The use of **אֲשִׁיבָה** in different senses in the two verses is also somewhat awkward.

**לְבָכָר אֱלֹהִים כְּבֹרָה**, **כְּבֹרָה** = *ἐς καθάρων, ad purum, lēdakhū*, and Ken. 2 Mss. **כְּבֹרָה**, Kittel, following Lowth (cf. Gray, p. 35).

27. **וַיִּשְׁבֶּה אֱלֹהִים שְׁבִיָּה**, **שְׁבִיָּה** = *שְׁבִיָּה*, **יִשְׁבֶּה** is suggested by Kittel. The emendation is parallel to that suggested by J. M. P. Smith for the name of Isaiah's son, **שָׁאֵר יִשָּׁב** (cf. below p. 189) and should be accepted with it.

The passage is not strictly Messianic, since the prediction mentions only the counsellors and judges; but it seems to belong to this group since it contains no hint of the direct rule of Jahveh Himself. It is probably the earliest of the four.

9:1-6. (4 strophes of 4 couplets, metre 3:3 and 2:2.)

1. A people who walk in the dark,  
     have seen abundant light.  
 The dwellers in a land of gloom,—  
     upon them a light has shone.
2. He causes great joy,  
     increases delight.  
 Unto Thee as in harvest they rejoice,  
     or as men dividing spoil.
3. Because the burdening yoke,  
     and the shoulder-striking staff,  
 The oppressor's mighty rod,  
     Thou didst break as in Midian's day.
4. And the boot of each evil man,  
     and the garment rolled in blood,  
 Is become a flame  
     and food of fire.
5. For a child is born,  
     a son to us giv'n,  
 On his shoulder is the rule,  
     and they call his name

Wise in Design,  
 Mighty as God,  
 Father of Spoil,  
 Prince of Peace.

6. Great is his rule,  
 and endless his peace.  
 For David's kingdom and throne  
 he shall found and make firm,  
 In justice and right,  
 both now and alway.  
 The zeal of Jahveh  
 shall bring it to pass.

העם ההלכים בחשך 1 a  
 ראו אור גדול  
 ישבי בארץ צלמות b  
 אור נגה עליהם

הרבית הגילה 2 a  
 הגדלת השמחה  
 שמחו-לפניך כשמחת בקציר b  
 כאשר-יגילו בחלקם שלל

כי את-על סבלו 3 a  
 ואת-מטה שבמו  
 שבט הנגש בו b  
 החתת כיום מדין

כי כל-סאון רשע 4 a  
 ושמלה מגוללה בדמים  
 היתה לשרפה b  
 מאכלת אש



5 a      כִּי־יֵלֵךְ יִלְד־לָנוּ  
           בֶּן נִתַּן־לָנוּ  
           וְתִהְיֶה־הַמְּשֻׁרָה עַל־שִׁכְמוֹ      b  
           וַיִּקְרָא שְׁמוֹ  
                     פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ      c  
           אֶל גְּבוּר  
                     אֲבִי עֵד      d  
           שֶׁר שְׁלוֹם

6 a      רַבָּה הַמְּשֻׁרָה  
           וּלְשִׁלוֹם אֵין־קֵץ  
           עַל־כֶּסֶף דּוֹר וְעַל־מַמְלַכְתּוֹ      b  
           לִהְיוֹן אֶתָּה וּלְסַעֲרָה  
                     בַּמִּשְׁפָּט וּבַצִּדִּיקָה      c  
           מַעֲתָה וְעַד־עוֹלָם  
                     קִנְיָת יְהוָה־צְבָאוֹת      d  
           תַּעֲשֶׂה זֹאת

2a. הַגִּילָה  $\mathfrak{H}$ , Ketib, הַגִּוִּי לֹא, which is nonsense; Kere and Ken. 14 Mss.  $\mathfrak{ST}$  read לו;  $\mathfrak{GL}$  omit לֹא. הַגִּילָה which restores the proper parallelism, was suggested by Krochmal and independently by Selwyn (cf. Gray, p. 175).

2b could be scanned as 4:4, in which case the poem would have lines of three different lengths. To divide as two couplets of 2:2 is contrary to the parallelism and makes the first strophe consist of five lines. Duhm (ed. 1902) omits לַפְּנִיךְ as referring to the joy of worship, and therefore out of place in a description of harvest and victory. His suggestion is accepted by Marti. This omission suits the sense, but leaves an awkward succession of three forms of שִׂמְחָה. Duhm (ed. 1914) keeps the text of  $\mathfrak{H}$ . If we suppose that כִּשְׂמִיחָת was inserted to make the construction clearer, and omit יִגִּילוֹ with  $\mathfrak{GL}$ , we might read

שִׂמְחוּ לַפְּנִיךְ כַּקְצִיר | כַּאֲשֶׁר בַּחֲלָקִים שָׁלַל

4a. **א** adds **סאן**, probably a dittograph from **סאון .רשע** **א** has **ברעש**, **ט** read **רשע** (cf. 11:4). The **ב** was probably a later insertion in order to make a grammatical construction after **סאן .כגוללה**, cf. II Sam. 20:12. There is no need to emend with Gray to **מגאלה**, so **ט**.

4b. **א** prefixes **י**, omit for the sake of parallelism with **החתה** 3b.

5c. **א** point **ויקרא** with **ט**. (So Duhm, p. 66, Marti, p. 93.) c and d could be combined, giving one accent to the compound names instead of two, but Gray is probably right in assuming that for the sake of emphasis each word is to be given its accent. Duhm's division (ed. 1902) destroys the parallelism, since by it **שר שלום** must balance both **אל גבור** and **אבי ער**. In the edition of 1914, Duhm balances **אל גבור** with **אבי ער** and assumes that the epithet which originally balanced **שר שלום** has been lost.

6a. **א** **לסרבה**. The use of the final form of **מ** points to textual corruption. Gray and Marti read **רבה**. The **לם** probably arose by dittography from the preceding **שלום**.

The evidence of the language for dating this passage is indecisive, since the words which might give an indication of the period of the writing occur either here only or perhaps once elsewhere, e. g., **סאן .משרה .מאכלת .צלמות** occurs first in Jer. 2:6; 13:16. **קנאה** is an idea frequent in Ezekiel and later writers, "but it may also be so interpreted as not to be absolutely incompatible with Isaiah's thought."<sup>9</sup> Vv. 3 and 4 are expressed in terms too general to determine the date. However, they contain no allusion to the deportation of any section of the people, and would therefore apply well to the tribute imposed by Assyria during the reign of Hezekiah. Further if **סאון** is a loan word from the Assyrian<sup>10</sup> a reference to the Assyrian would naturally be inferred<sup>11</sup>; "garments weltering in blood" is hardly too strong an expression to be applied to an army which had recently destroyed the Philistine cities and the towns of Judah. The verses are then to be taken, not as

<sup>9</sup> Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 167.

<sup>10</sup> Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Lexicon*, p. 684.

<sup>11</sup> Kennett, *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah*.



a general prediction of the end of war (parallel to 2:4), but as a prediction of the destruction of a particular enemy.

The names of the child in v. 5 are difficult to interpret, and the versions offer little help.

**פלא יועץ** may be "a wonder of a counsellor" parallel to **כסיל אדם** Prov. 15:2 (*GK.*, 128, *l*) or **פלא** may be the prefixed accusative parallel to Is. 22:2, "giving wonderful counsel."<sup>12</sup>

**אל גבור** does not necessarily imply divinity, cf. the use of the plural, Ez. 32:21 = "mighty heroes" and further the use of **אל** in Ez. 31:11, and of the plural Job 41:17, Ez. 17:13, II Kings 24:15, Ex. 15:15, where the MS. readings **איל**, **אילים** etc. are probably due to an effort to distinguish the word from the divine name.<sup>13</sup>

**אבי ער** may be taken either as "booty" or as "eternity." In the sense of "booty" it occurs Gen. 49:27, Is. 33:23. In the sense "eternity" it is late. "Booty" fits the passage here as the other meaning does not, since it gives us two pairs of epithets, each containing one name for a time of peace and one for a time of war. The chief argument offered against this interpretation applies also against the other. It is said that **אבי** in such names as Abimelek, Abidan, etc., always forms part of a sentence, e. g. "my father (is) king," "my father (is) judge." This is apparently true. However, the sentence frequently can not be taken literally, cf. **אבי הוד** "my father (is) majesty," **אבי טל** "my father (is) dew." On the analogy of these names it is quite as natural to say "my father is booty" as "my father is eternity"; and there appears to be little probability for the meaning "a father forever" parallel to **גברת ער** Is. 47:7, or **עבר עולם**, Dt. 15:17.<sup>14</sup> **ישר שלום**, the last name, is obvious enough.

The passage, 10:33-11:10, is the most elaborate and definite of the Messianic prophecies in the book of Isaiah. The arguments for regarding it as a single poem are as follows:

10:33-34 is not to be connected with what precedes, for 10:28-32, a vivid description of the advance of an hostile army,

<sup>12</sup> Gray, p. 176; Marti, p. 93.

<sup>13</sup> BDB., p. 42.

<sup>14</sup> Gray, p. 174.

is complete in itself, and is quite different in metre and style from 10:33f. 10:33, 34 and 11:1 are equally figurative, and the contrast between them, although perhaps not "unmistakable,"<sup>15</sup> is nevertheless too direct to be accidental. The vocabulary of 10:33, 34 is not post-exilic. Cheyne<sup>16</sup> found so many Isaianic expressions that he suggested quite seriously that the passage was an intentional piece of patchwork, composed by the redactor; e. g. סַעֲף denominative from סַעֲף 17:6, מַעֲרֵצָה cf. 2:19, 21, נִקָּף cf. נִקָּף 17:16, סִבְכֵי הַיַּעַר cf. 9:17. The two verses as a whole are parallel to 2:12-17. The only late usage is בִּאדִיר, and this, as Cheyne himself admits in his edition of Isaiah<sup>17</sup> should be emended (cf. below). Further הֵנָּה הָאָרֶץ makes a good opening for a poem, while וַיֵּצֵא appears so unnatural that commentators have often suggested that an opening distich has been lost.

11:10 has usually been connected with the following clearly post-exilic section, 11:11ff., because of its opening words וְהָיָה כִּי־יִהְיֶה הַהוּא which are identical with the beginning of v. 11. But it is quite possible, either that the beginning of v. 11 was prefixed by the compiler to make a superficial connection between the two sections, or that the words, if they were originally a part of the verse, were the cause of the position of the later section. For the pre-exilic use of the phrase in predictions, compare Am. 8:3, 9, Hos. 1:5, 2:16. It is of frequent occurrence in the prophecies of Isaiah, e. g. 2:11, 17, 20; 3:7, 18; 4:1; etc.

The chief reason, however, for including 10:33, 34 and 11:10 in the poem is that 10:33-11:10 taken together forms a homogeneous and symmetrical whole. If the poem is considered as consisting of 11:1-8 only, it is impossible to divide into strophes of equal length without making divisions contrary to the sense<sup>18</sup>; the poem is without proper introduction; and its conclusion has little relation to its beginning. The addition of 10:33, 34 and 11:10 brings the whole passage into regular metrical form, the couplets being 3:3, arranged in strophes of three couplets each, with the strophic and sense divisions corresponding, while the

<sup>15</sup> Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 116 (Leipzig, 1890); Gray, p. 213.

<sup>16</sup> Cheyne, *Introduction*, p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> Cheyne, "Isaiah," *SBOT*.

<sup>18</sup> Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 212.



similarity between 11:10 and 11:1 links closely the different parts of the poem.

The divisions, then, are as follows:—

10:33a. The introductory line does not form a part of the metrical scheme.<sup>19</sup> Behold, Jahveh is destroying the forest.

10:33b–11:1. After the destruction, the branch of Jesse will bear fruit.

11:2-3. The spirit of Jahveh is upon him, so that he is not dependent upon human faculties.

11:4-5. Therefore he judges justly.

11:6-7a. Then even the beasts shall be at peace.

11:7b-9a. Nothing shall do harm.

11:9b-10. For the earth will be full of the knowledge of Jahveh and all nations will honor the root of Jesse.

10:33–11:10.

10:33. Behold the Lord of Hosts,  
destroying the tree-tops with might!

Laid low are the tallest limbs,  
the loftiest trees shall fall,

34. The thickets with iron He destroys,  
and Lebanon falls by the ax;

11:1. But shall spring from Jesse's trunk  
a branch from out his root.

11:2. On him the spirit of Jahveh,  
a spirit of wisdom and thought,  
A spirit of counsel and might,  
a spirit revering Jahveh.

11:3. And not by sight shall he judge,  
nor by what his ears may hear.

11:4. Rightly shall he judge the poor,  
treat justly the meek of the earth.  
With a word the oppressor smite,  
at his breath shall the sinner die.

11:5. The girdle of his loins shall be right,  
and with truth shall he bind himself.

<sup>19</sup> Harper, *Amos and Hosea*, pp. 168 f. (Int. Crit. Com.).

- 11:6. Then shall sojourn wolf with lamb,  
a leopard rest by a kid,  
A lion feed near a calf,  
their leader a little child.
- 11:7a. A cow shall feed with a bear,  
together their young lie down.
- 11:7b. The lion shall eat grass like the ox,  
and dust be the serpent's food.
- 11:8. The babe by the asp's hole shall play,  
the child by the adder's home.
- 11:9a. There shall be nor evil nor harm,  
in all my holy mount.
- 11:9b. For knowledge of God shall fill earth  
as the water covers the sea.
- 11:10. And then shall Jesse's root  
a signal be to the world.  
To him shall the nations flock,  
and glorious be his rest.

10:33 a הנה הארון יהוה-צבאות  
מסעף פארה במערצה

10:33 b ורמי הקומה גרעים  
והגבהים ישפלו  
10:34 ונקף סבכי-היער בברזל  
והלכנון בחריץ יפול  
11:1 ויצא-חטר מגזע ישי  
ונצר משרשיו יפרח

11:2 ונחה-עליו רוח יהוה  
רוח חכמה ובינה  
רוח עצה וגבורה  
רוח.... יראת יהוה



11:3 .... ולא-למראה עיניו ייפוט  
ולא-למשמע אזניו יוכיח

11:4 וישפט בצדק דלים  
והוֹלִיחַ בַּמִּישׁוֹר לַעֲנוּי-אֶרֶץ  
והכֹּה-עֲרִיץ בִּשְׁבֹט פִּי  
וּבְרוּחַ-שְׁפָתָיו יִמִּית רָשָׁע

11:5 וְהָיָה-צֶדֶק חֲגוֹר מִתְּנִי  
וְהָאֱמוּנָה אֲזוֹר חֻלְצִי

11:6 וְגַר זֶאֶב עִם-כֹּבֶשׂ  
וְנֹמֵר עִם-גְּדִי יִרְבֵּץ  
וְעֹגֵל וּכְפִיר יִרְעוּ-יַחְדָּו  
וְנֶעֱר קֶטֶן נְהַג-בָּם

11:7 a וּפְרָה וְדָב תִּתְרַעֲנָה  
יַחְדָּו יִרְבְּצוּ יִלְדֵיהֶן

11:7 b וְאִרְיָה כְּבָקָר יֹאכַל-תֶּבֶן  
וְנָחָשׁ עֹפֵר לַחֲמוֹ

11:8 וְשַׁעֲשַׁע יֹנֵק עַל-חֶרֶץ-פֶּתֶן  
וְעַל-מַעֲרַת-צִפֹּעַ גְּמוּל יִדּוֹר

11:9 a לֹא-יִרְעוּ וְלֹא יִשְׁחִיתוּ  
בְּכָל הָר קֹדֶשׁ

11:9 b כִּי-מִלֵּאָה הָאֶרֶץ דַּעַת-יִהְיֶה  
כָּמִים לִים מְכֻסִּים

11:10 וְהָיָה בְיוֹם-הַהוּא יִשְׂרָשֵׁי  
אִשֶּׁר עֹמֵד לְנֶם-עַמִּים  
אֱלֹו גּוֹיִם יִדְרִישׁוּ  
וְהָיְתָה מִנְחָתוֹ כְּבוֹד

10:33. פארה 40 Mss.  $a's't'$   $\mathfrak{H}$  read פורה. BDB, root פאר II, doubtful, compare פארות "boughs" Ez. 17:6, 31:5 and תפאר, Dt. 24:20.  $\mathfrak{G}$  = ἐνδόξους, compare פאר "head-dress," Is. 3:20; 61:10; Ez. 24:17; 44:18; Ex. 39:28. Therefore possibly used of the *tops* of the trees.

10:34. בִּחְרִיין  $\mathfrak{H}$  באֲדִיר  $\mathfrak{G}$  σύν τοῖς ὑψηλοῖς, hence Marti and Cheyne suggest באֲדִירִי, cf. Zech. 11:2. But some term parallel to בְּכֹרֶל is needed; Kittel suggests בְּקָרֶם "with an ax." בְּחִרִין, cf. II Sam. 12:31, and חֲרִין, Am. 1:3 requires less change of the Hebrew.

11:1. יִפְרָה  $\mathfrak{H}$  יִפְרָח  $\mathfrak{G}$  read יִפְרָח.

11:2. רוח דעת ויראת  $\mathfrak{H}$  רוח יראת, a peculiar construction, since דעת is probably construct, with no noun immediately following, cf. GK, 128a and note 1.

11:3. Before ולא  $\mathfrak{H}$  reads והריחו ביראת יהוה, which obviously arose by dittography from the preceding, with the omission of דעת. 16 Mss. with  $\mathfrak{G}$  read לא.

11:4. Ken. 80 omits ארץ, possibly, therefore read לַעֲנִיִּים. עֲרִין, so Kittel, Duhm, Marti;  $\mathfrak{H}$  ארץ. The change is necessary for the parallel with רשע, cf. also  $\mathfrak{G}$  א Q<sup>1</sup> which has for לַעֲנִי ארץ, τοὺς ἐνδόξους τῆς γῆς (so Irenaeus) while  $\mathfrak{I}$  reads "et redarguet superbos et eripiet humiles," thus apparently retaining the idea of עֲרִין.

11:5. חגור  $\mathfrak{H}$  אזור, cf. Gray, p. 221.  $\mathfrak{G}$  ἐξωσμένος . . . ἐιλημένος, the latter only here in this sense, making it probable that the Hebrew used different words.

11:6. ירעו  $\mathfrak{H}$  ומריא  $\mathfrak{G}$  transpose מריא and כפיר, and  $\mathfrak{G}$  add ירעו.

11:7a. תתרענה, so Duhm and Kittel.  $\mathfrak{H}$  תרענה,  $\mathfrak{G}$  ἄμα βουσκῆθῃσονται;  $\mathfrak{I}$  =  $\mathfrak{G}$ .

11:7b. The last half of the line is supplied from Is. 65:25 (cf. Gray, p. 211).

11:8. The second half of the line in  $\mathfrak{H}$  reads ועל מאורת גמול ירו הרה yet in sense this is obviously the correct parallel to the first half of the verse. מאורת is taken by the versions as equalling חר.  $\mathfrak{G}$  read גמול with צפעוני, i. e. ἐκγόνων ἀσπιδων. Gray points out that הרה is the only perfect without waw conversive in the section, and that its proper Aramaic meaning is "lead" which makes nonsense here. He

suggests that **ירו הרה** is a corruption from some verb in the imperfect, parallel to **ושעשע**. Any reconstruction is, of course, mere guesswork, but there seems no doubt that v. 8 was originally a 3:3 couplet.

11:9b. **רעת את יהוה** **לרעת יהוה**, cf. GK, 114c and 118d.

Cheyne<sup>20</sup> finds in this passage no linguistic peculiarities which demand a date later than Isaiah; and many of the phrases can be paralleled from his prophecies (cf. above on 10:33, 34). The only definite argument for a late date for the passage is drawn from the use of the phrase **גזע ישי** in 11:1. The root meaning of **גזע** is "cut" (cf. Arabic and Ethiopic).<sup>21</sup> Gray interprets the word here as the stump of a tree which has been cut down and argues that it implies a time when a Davidic king was no longer reigning in Jerusalem. He cites in support of this usage Job 14:8.<sup>22</sup> Prof. Barton has pointed out that it may also mean the trunk of a tree from which the larger branches have been cut for fire-wood.<sup>23</sup> It is used in somewhat this sense in Is. 40:24, and this meaning is parallel to the similar nouns in Arabic and Syriac.<sup>24</sup> If then **גזע** may be interpreted of a living tree, it does not necessitate a post-exilic date for the passage.<sup>25</sup>

The fourth passage, 32:1-8, is less important. Vv. 6-8 are obviously not Isaianic. The similarity to the later wisdom literature is too striking.<sup>26</sup> Vv. 1-5 are doubtful. Marti joins with them vv. 15-20. If this is correct, the poem must be late, probably post-exilic. The picture of universal peace with the emphasis on the cultivation of the soil belongs clearly in thought with such passages as 2:2-4. 32:1-2 refers, however, to political conditions and if the section 1-5 is taken alone, it is possibly the work of Isaiah.

The metre is rough and the many variations which the Septuagint presents give evidence of early corruption of the text. It

<sup>20</sup> Cheyne, *Introduction*, pp. 64 f.

<sup>21</sup> Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*, 15th ed.

<sup>22</sup> Gray, *Isaiah*, pp. 214 f.

<sup>23</sup> Such as described by G. A. Barton, *A Year's Wandering in Bible Lands*, p. 156.

<sup>24</sup> Gesenius, *Handwörterbuch*.

<sup>25</sup> G. A. Barton, in *JBL*, XXIII, p. 73.

<sup>26</sup> Duhm, *Jesaja*, p. 208-09; Box, *Isaiah*, p. 145; Marti, *Jesaja*, p. 237.



seems therefore probable that some transcriber of Isaiah's work, perhaps he who is responsible for vv. 6-8, altered the fragment of original prophecy to suit his own conceptions. Cheyne counts thirteen words in vv. 1-5 which are apparently not used elsewhere in the genuine prophecies of Isaiah. Several of these occur only here, and others like הן occur in doubtful passages, but the extremely large number of unusual words is certainly suspicious.

Any attempt to recover a possible Isaianic kernel for the verses must be purely conjectural; the text of the Septuagint seems to have suffered more than the Hebrew from later emendations. The metre is apparently 3:3, and the verses form two strophes of three couplets each, which is the poetical form of 10:33-11:10.

1. Lo, rightly a king shall rule,  
and princes in justice decree.
2. A man shall be refuge from wind,  
a protection from the mighty storm,  
Like springs of water in thirst,  
in a desert like the shade of a rock.
3. Nor shall the eyes of the seeing be blind,  
nor the ears of the hearing be deaf.
4. The hasty heart shall understand,  
the stammering tongue shall speak.
5. No more shall fools be called noble,  
nor the crafty be told . . .

1 הן לצדק ימלך-מלך  
ישרים למשפט ישרו  
2<sup>a</sup> והיה-איש כמחבא מרוח  
וסתר מזרם כבד  
כפלגי מים בציון<sup>b</sup>  
כצל-סלע.... בארץ עיפה  
3 ולא-תשענה עיני ראים  
ואזני שמעים תקשבנה

4 ולבב נמהרים יבין ....  
 ולשון עלגים .... ידבר ....  
 5 לא יקרא ... לנבל נריב  
 ולכלי לא יאמר שוע

1. וּשְׂרִים א, ולִשְׂרִים א, omit ל with G and Ken. 93.

2a. זרם, רוח א, מזרם, מרוח. The preposition was either read or supplied by the versions. כבר in א follows סלע, making the last half of 2a short and 2b long. Box therefore suggests the change. G has an entirely different reading for most of the verse.

3. תִּשְׁעִינָה א, תִּשְׁעִינָה read תִּשְׁעִינָה with σ' H.

4. Omit לרעת (G read לשמע) probably an explanatory gloss; also תמהר which was probably inserted by mistake from the first half the verse, and perhaps also צחות as an explanatory gloss for ידבר. א reads לרבר, a change made necessary by the insertion of תמהר.

5. After יקרא, א has עוד, which should perhaps be retained. שוע in Job 34:19 "noble," G has here Σύγα.

## THE HISTORY OF INTERPRETATION

The criticism and interpretation of these passages, together with 7:14 ff., presented no problem to the early Christian commentators to whom everything in the Old Testament was unquestionably a prophecy of Jesus of Nazareth, so that even Rahab's scarlet thread was considered a symbol of the atoning blood of the Christ.

Thus we find Jerome saying in his commentary on Isaiah<sup>27</sup> that the righteous judges, 1:26, are the twelve apostles; that 9:4 predicts the breaking of the yoke of Satan by the Saviour; that 11:6 ff. is to be interpreted as a fable since a literal interpretation would be unworthy of God, for "why should the deity be interested in animals?" The wolf, therefore, signifies Paul who at first persecuted the church. 7:14 is obviously a direct prediction of Christ's birth, and as to the relation of this event to the destruction of Samaria and Damascus, Jerome says:

<sup>27</sup> S. Hieronymi *Opera*, vol. III (edition 1704).

“Quod ad mysterium et invocationem nominis ejus, terra Syriae et Samariae, Assyrio superante, vastetur et domus David liberetur a duobus regibus quos metuit, Rasin, videlicet et Phacee.”

The authority of Jerome established this method of interpretation permanently in the Roman church. Almost the only opposing views during the Middle Ages were those held by the Rabbinical commentators, the most important of whom flourished from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. R. Solomon Yishaki,<sup>28</sup> called Rashi, who died 1105, followed the Aramaic paraphrase closely, and gave usually the traditional interpretation of the Talmudists. On 7:14, however, the chronological arguments of the Christian polemicists forced him to abandon the identification of Immanuel with Hezekiah. He suggested instead that העלמה is the prophetess, the wife of Isaiah, and Immanuel his expected son. 9:5 he applied to Hezekiah at the age of twelve, dividing the epithets between God and the child. Ibn Ezra<sup>29</sup> agreed with Rashi in his interpretation of 7:14; 9:5, although he gave all the epithets in the latter passage to the child. 11:1 ff. he also referred to Hezekiah. Kimhi<sup>30</sup> in the next century, was interested chiefly in polemics against the Christians. He interpreted 7:14 of an otherwise unknown wife and son of Ahaz. 9:5 he took as a tribute to Hezekiah, but he considered 11:1 ff. as a prediction, still unfulfilled, of the “branch of David,” parallel to Mi. 5:1, Zech. 3:8.

The few Christian scholars who endeavored to explain prophecies historically were classed as heretics by the church, and their memory is preserved only in occasional disapproving references to “the Jews and those who think like them” in the works of the orthodox writers.

Even the Reformation made little change in traditional Biblical interpretation. Luther, indeed, said definitely<sup>31</sup> that the majority of the prophets speak concerning a material kingdom, yet sometimes make a sudden transition to the kingdom of Christ. Such transitions are especially frequent in Isaiah, yet many things may refer to his own people; and Luther

<sup>28</sup> Gesenius, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, pp. 119, 307-08, 360.

<sup>29</sup> Gesenius, *ibid.*, pp. 307-08, 360, 418.

<sup>30</sup> Gesenius, *ibid.*, pp. 308, 360, 418 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Luther, *In Esaiam Scholia*, Wittenberg, 1534.



criticised Jerome "who ridicules Apollinaris for turning all things to allegory, yet himself is accustomed to do the same." But Luther is certainly not free from the allegorizing tendency. According to him, 11:6 refers to the receiving of tyrants and oppressors into the church. He interpreted 7:14 of Christ and explained (following a suggestion of Irenaeus) that the eating of butter and honey signifies that He will be brought up like other children. 32:1 ff. on the other hand, he interpreted of Hezekiah rather than of the Christ.

Calvin's<sup>32</sup> interpretation in general agreed with that of Luther, although Calvin usually put somewhat more emphasis on the applicability of the passage to earlier events. For example, he applied 9:2 first to the return of the exiles from Babylon, but, also to the coming of Christ. In 7:14 ff. Calvin felt clearly the difficulty of connecting the birth of Christ with the perplexities of Ahaz, but he explained, as did the earlier commentators, that all the deliverances of the Jews were really the work of the promised Messiah; he differed from them, however, in referring v. 16 not to Immanuel, but to all those who were children at the time of the prophet.

Such methods of interpretation were accepted almost unanimously by scholars until nearly the end of the eighteenth century. J. D. Michaelis,<sup>33</sup> for example, although making many acute suggestions in regard to the emendation of the text, kept on the whole to the traditional interpretation. 9:6 ff. could not apply to Hezekiah without blasphemy; in 11:6 the beasts are a parable for fierce races of men, etc.

A realization of the possibility of holding diverse opinions concerning Isaiah's Messianic hope was one of the results of the critical analysis of the book of Isaiah—an analysis which was itself the result of the modern conception of the nature and function of prophecy. The beginning of this analysis was made by Koppe in his notes to the German edition of Lowth's commentary.<sup>34</sup> Koppe said in his introduction that the book of Isaiah obviously falls into a number of unconnected sections,

<sup>32</sup> Calvin, *Isaiah*, 1550 (English translation, Edinburgh, 1609).

<sup>33</sup> J. D. Michaelis, *Entwurf der typischen Gottesgelehrtheit*, Göttingen, 1763; *Deutsche Uebersetzung des Alten Testament*, Göttingen, 1779; *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek*, Frankfurt, 1778+.

<sup>34</sup> Lowth, *Jesaia*, Leipzig, 1779.

and that there is no certainty that the superscriptions are accurate, nor that the whole book is the work of Isaiah. For instance, he declared that chapter 32 is plainly a collection of fragments from many hands. He did not anywhere, indeed, attempt a systematic analysis, but contented himself with an occasional suggestion of possibilities. In interpreting the separate prophecies, however, he frequently broke away from the allegorical tradition, suggesting that 4:2 may mean the literal fruit of the land, and that chapters 34, 35 refer to the destruction of Edom by Nebuchadrezzar and have no connection whatever with the Messiah.

Eichhorn<sup>35</sup> argued definitely and decisively for the diversity of authorship of the book of Isaiah, separated chapters 40-66 from the first part of the book, suggested that chapters 24-27 were inserted to fill an empty space in the parchment, and asserted that the book as a whole is a collection of oracles, made later than the Babylonian exile, with an earlier collection of Isaianic sayings as a basis. Eichhorn, since his interest was chiefly in the critical analysis of the book, made no especial investigation of Isaiah's Messianic expectation. He considered 9:1-14 a late gloss, but accepted chapter 11 as genuine, and cited it as an especially characteristic example of Isaiah's poetic power.

Gesenius<sup>36</sup> accepted Eichhorn's principle of the diverse authorship of the book of Isaiah, and he further deliberately rejected most of the Messianic passages. 7:14 he took as referring to Isaiah's wife, and asserted that the sign dealt with the limit of the time predicted. 9:1 ff. he took as the Talmudists had done, as a tribute to Hezekiah, but chapters 11 and 32 he considered predictions of an ideal king expected in the near future. Hitzig<sup>37</sup> agreed with Gesenius on 7:14, but was more consistent in his treatment of chapters 9 and 11, taking both as predictions of the Messianic era which was to follow immediately after the destruction of Assyria by Jahveh. Ewald<sup>38</sup> went back to the Messianic explanation of 7:14, although he admitted

<sup>35</sup> Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*.

<sup>36</sup> Gesenius, *Der Prophet Jesaja*.

<sup>37</sup> Hitzig, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, Heidelberg, 1833.

<sup>38</sup> Ewald, *Die Propheten des Alten Bundes*, 1867, 68 (English Translation, London, 1876).

“it would not have been easy to discover the reference to the Messiah from the words alone, unless his coming had long since been foretold with sufficient clearness by the other prophets.” Chapters 9 and 11 describe the divine kingdom which the prophet considered capable of being combined with the Davidic rule.

Duhm<sup>39</sup> denied any Messianic significance to chapter 7. In his interpretation of chapters 9 and 11 he laid stress especially on the eschatological character of the Messianic age as expected by Isaiah. The destruction of Judah is to be complete, but at the moment of greatest danger, Jahveh will overthrow Assyria and the new age will begin. “His future ideal is not an idealizing of the present, not a product of the poetic fancy, but a fully new creation.” Robertson Smith<sup>40</sup> disagreed absolutely with Duhm’s eschatological interpretation. Isaiah expected, not a new creation, but a reformation within Israel which should make it a holy state, consistent with its position as the chosen people of a holy God. This reformation was to be brought about by Jahveh’s guiding care for His people, exactly as all other changes in the character or fortune of the nation had been effected. Duhm’s commentary on Isaiah<sup>41</sup> was published in 1892. The introduction deals wholly with the analysis of the book, and consistently takes the position that the book of Isaiah which we now possess is a collection of prophecies of various periods, including passages dating from the time of Isaiah himself to that of the Hasmoneans, and that each section of the book must be studied as a unit and dated according to the evidence it presents without regard to the sections which precede or follow it. The analysis is carefully worked out in the body of the commentary, which has served as a starting point for all later critical study of the book. Duhm’s view of Isaiah’s Messianic expectation remains unchanged from that of his earlier work. He assigns 1:21-26 to Isaiah’s youth, when his work as a prophet was just beginning, while 9:1 ff., 11:1 ff., 32:1 ff., together with 2:2-4, belong to the end of Isaiah’s life, after the invasion of Sennacherib. He assumes that Isaiah never made

<sup>39</sup> Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn, 1875.

<sup>40</sup> Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, London, 1882.

<sup>41</sup> Duhm, *Jesaja*, Göttingen (edition of 1914 used).



public his hope for an ideal kingdom, but described it to the band of disciples only.

With the general acceptance of Duhm's method of analysis, the question of the authorship of the Messianic sections in the book of Isaiah at once became prominent. The consistency of such a hope with the rest of the teaching of Isaiah, and with the historical conditions under which he lived were obviously the chief test of authenticity.

Guthe<sup>42</sup> divides Isaiah's conception of the Messianic age into two periods. At the beginning of his ministry, Isaiah believed that the destruction of the land of Judah by Assyria was a necessary preliminary to the restoration. After that destruction, there should come a new sprout from the cut-down trunk of Jesse, and a righteous judge in contrast to the reigning king should rule over the remnant of the people. In the second period, there is no expectation of any individual, the rescue and final security of Jerusalem is to be brought about directly by Jahveh, and the emphasis is laid on the general virtue of the new community. This era will begin not through the destruction of Jerusalem but through its marvelous rescue.<sup>43</sup>

Giesebrecht<sup>44</sup> finds it necessary to suppose three distinct stages in the development of Isaiah's hope for the future. There are really, he considers, two parts to Guthe's second period. First, immediately after the fall of Samaria, Isaiah entertained high hopes for the future of Judah, but in the time of Sennacherib when the alliance with Egypt was persistently maintained in spite of the denunciations of the prophet, he predicted salvation for only a small remnant of the nation. The promises which had formerly included all the nation were now transferred to the remnant.

Other scholars, however, assert that no Messianic hope of any kind could have been consistent with Isaiah's point of view. Hackmann<sup>45</sup> gives a minute analysis of the book, agreeing in the main with that of Duhm, and laying especial stress on the lack of evidence for any revision of Isaiah's work by the prophet himself. Hackmann insists that Isaiah's expectation of the

<sup>42</sup> Guthe, *Das Zukunftsbild des Jesaia*, Leipzig, 1885.

<sup>43</sup> Guthe abandoned this view in his *Jesaia*, Tübingen, 1907.

<sup>44</sup> Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, Göttingen, 1890.

<sup>45</sup> Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*, Göttingen, 1893.

future runs in "an unbroken line," that he expected nothing but total destruction for both Israel and Judah, and that all sections describing restoration weaken Isaiah's message. They are to be accounted for as affixed at the beginning and end of originally independent collections of Isaiah's prophecies by the different compilers who sought to re-inforce their own ideas by the authority of Isaiah. Hackmann, however, accepts 1:21 ff. as genuine without making it quite clear how this passage agrees with the expectation of total destruction.<sup>46</sup> Volz<sup>47</sup> also denies the genuineness of the Messianic sections, but less as the result of an analysis of the book of Isaiah, than as a necessary corollary to his statement that the nature of pre-exilic prophecy is inconsistent with the Messianic idea. Pre-exilic prophecy, according to Volz, is not "wisdom" but prediction, and the prediction of evil. The hope of good was related only to the faithful remnant and was not openly expressed. He further makes the rather incomprehensible assertion that to preach a Messianic age while there was a king on the throne would be to incite a rebellion. Isaiah looked for the punishment of the nation with the ultimate preservation of a faithful remnant and a time of prosperity to come; of this Jerusalem is to be the centre. The whole is to be brought about directly by Jahveh Himself without human agency. The only definite expression of this ideal is to be found in 1:21 ff., to which the other hopeful predictions in the book are in direct contradiction.

Of the more recent commentators on Isaiah, Marti<sup>48</sup> re-affirms Hackmann's view without change, Condamin<sup>49</sup> accepts all the passages without question and even keeps the Messianic interpretation of 7:14 ff., while Gray<sup>50</sup> leaves the question open, although he is evidently more inclined to doubt the genuineness of all except 1:21 ff.

<sup>46</sup> Georg Beer ("Wellhausen Festschrift," *ZAW.*, Beihefte 27, pp. 15-35), who also asserts that Isaiah was the prophet of doom only, more consistently treats 1:24 ff. like the other Messianic passages, joining all four with the eschatological pictures of the reign of Jahveh, and making them therefore post-exilic.

<sup>47</sup> Volz, *Die Vorexilische Yahwehprophetie*, Göttingen, 1897.

<sup>48</sup> Marti, *Jesaja*, Tübingen, 1900.

<sup>49</sup> Condamin, *Le Livre d'Isaie*, Paris, 1905.

<sup>50</sup> G. B. Gray, *Isaiah*, *Int. Crit. Com.*, 1911.

## THE CONSISTENCY OF A MESSIANIC EXPECTATION WITH THE TEACHING OF ISAIAH

As has been said, the only test for the genuineness of the Messianic sections among the prophecies ascribed to Isaiah lies in their consistency with the historical conditions of the time and with other prophecies known to be authentic. (The evidence of the vocabulary of the four poems has already been shown to be indecisive.)

Isaiah saw the vision which called him to the work of a prophet "in the year that king Uzziah died" (6:1), and according to the superscription, 1:1 (which in this case agrees with the internal evidence), he continued to prophesy through the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. Thus he began his work just as a period of peace and great material prosperity was drawing to a close. During the reign of Jeroboam II in Samaria, and Uzziah in Jerusalem, both kingdoms made considerable additions to their territory and engaged largely in commerce. Egypt under the XXII dynasty was unable to interfere in Palestine, and Assyria for fifty years after the invasion of Adad-nirari III in 797 B. C. left the West lands in peace.<sup>51</sup> When after the death of Jeroboam II the North kingdom was distracted by insurrections and revolts, Judah must easily have regained absolute independence, and her prosperity was helped rather than hindered by the anarchy of her neighbor. According to II Kings 14:22, Uzziah held and fortified Elath on the Red Sea, so that Jerusalem had a port for her commerce, and it is clear from the words of Isaiah that Judah, like Samaria in the time of Amos and Hosea, suffered from the consequent concentration of wealth in the hands of a few, as the capitalists, lending money at interest, and seizing the property of debtors unable to pay, "laid field to field until" they "dwelt alone in the land," 5:8. During the independent reign of Jotham conditions probably remained much the same, since no record of tribute from Jerusalem is found in the Assyrian monuments, and the sole reference to Jotham's activity in the Biblical record (II Kings 15:35) is the statement that he built the upper gate of the

<sup>51</sup> Hastings, *Bible Dictionary* (1 volume edition), article "Israel."



temple of Jahveh—a work which is obviously suited to a time of peace.<sup>52</sup>

In the year 735 B. C. with the accession of Pekah in Samaria and Ahaz in Judah came a change. Pekah, in alliance with Rezin of Damascus, was preparing for war against Assyria, and the allies probably insisted that Ahaz should join them. When he refused, they marched against Jerusalem which was apparently totally unprepared to stand a siege. In spite of Isaiah's exhortation to trust in Jahveh, and his scorn of "the two tails of smoking fire-brands" (7:1-17), Ahaz sent a present with an offer of submission to Tiglath-Pileser of Assyria and asked his aid (II Kings 16:7-9). Tiglath-Pileser came, as he must have done in any case for the sake of his own authority, conquered the armies of the allies, slew the two kings, made Damascus an Assyrian province, and set Hoshea on the throne of Samaria. Ahaz went to Damascus with the other rulers of the West-land to declare in person his allegiance to the victor, and thus began the long period of Judean vassalage to Assyria.

Tiglath-Pileser died in 727, and Hoshea refused his tribute to Assyria. In 725 an Assyrian army appeared in Palestine and after a siege of three years took Samaria in the first year of the reign of Sargon. 27,290 of the inhabitants were deported, colonists from other parts of the empire were settled in their places, and the North kingdom became an Assyrian province. In Judah, however, Hezekiah continued to submit to the Assyrian yoke which his predecessor had assumed and was left unmolested in 722, and probably also in the campaign of Sargon against Ashdod in 711.

At the death of Sargon in 705, however, the hope of regaining independence proved too great a temptation to be resisted. From the East came the flattering embassy of Merodach-Baladan (II Kings 20:12 ff.), from Egypt came lavish promises of aid. The hopes of the nation were high. 22:6-14 gives a vivid picture of the eagerness of the people during the preparation for the revolt. On the North, Aram; on the East, Kir and Elam, the

<sup>52</sup> If, as seems probable, the reference to Az-ri-ia-u of Ja-u-da-ai in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser for the year 738 B. C. is to be taken with Winckler as referring to the land of Yadi in North Syria near Zinjirli, the kingdom of Judah suffered not at all from Assyria, during the reigns of Uzziah and Jotham.

allies of Merodach-Baladan, are preparing their weapons to assist in the fight against Sennacherib. Hezekiah's mercenaries fill the valleys around Jerusalem with horses and chariots, and the city is prepared to withstand a siege if necessary.<sup>53</sup> From the annals of Sennacherib we know that the Phoenicians and the Philistines also joined in the revolt, and that the king of Ekron, who wished to remain faithful to Assyria, was sent by his subjects to Jerusalem to be guarded by Hezekiah. Sennacherib after a victorious campaign against Merodach-Baladan marched West, and beginning with Sidon, captured city after city; won a victory over Egypt at Eltekeh; marched against Hezekiah, took forty-six of his strong cities and shut him up in Jerusalem "like a bird in a cage." Hezekiah, deserted by his mercenaries, sent an offer of submission to Sennacherib (KB., II, pp. 94-97, cf. II Kings 18:13-16). Sennacherib, who had lost a part of his army through plague and was eager to return to the East where Merodach-Baladan was again active, accepted Hezekiah's offer and left him in possession of what remained of his kingdom.

Recently many scholars<sup>54</sup> have returned to the view first suggested by Rawlinson that Sennacherib made two expeditions against Jerusalem, one in 701 in which he was successful, and the other about 690 in which his army was attacked by plague, and he was obliged to retire ignominiously to Assyria. In the almost entire absence of inscriptions for the last years of Sen-

<sup>53</sup> 22:6, 7 have generally been interpreted of an army marching against Jerusalem, and the history of the country from the time of Uzziah onwards has been searched in vain to find a time at which Elam and its neighbors were the dangerous enemies of Judah. The suggestion that the reference is to contingents in Sennacherib's army (in itself scarcely satisfactory) is rendered most improbable by the fact that at this period Elam was an independent nation, an ally of Merodach-Baladan, and in no way to be considered a vassal of Assyria. Further it is somewhat difficult to see why any people, however desperate, should rejoice at the appearance of an armed foe filling the valleys. On the other hand, if Kir and Elam were expected to fight on the side of Judah, the passage gives a consistent account of the preparation for the great revolt of 705: first, the gathering of the army of the allies; then the soldiers assembled for the defense of Jerusalem; and finally, the fortification of the city and the building of the Siloam tunnel.

<sup>54</sup> E. g. Kemper Fullerton, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXIII, pp. 577-634, R. W. Rogers, "Wellhausen Festschrift," *ZAW.*, Beihefte 27, pp. 317-327.

nacherib's reign, positive evidence for the correctness or incorrectness of this view is not forthcoming. The argument for a second expedition is briefly as follows:

There are in II Kings 18:13-19:37 three narratives, one of which, II Kings 18:13-16, agrees almost perfectly with the Assyrian record; while the other two, II Kings 18:17-19:8 and 19:9-37, directly contradict both the Assyrian account and II Kings 18:13-16, since they assert a signal deliverance of Jerusalem. The third narrative is supported by a tale in Herodotus (II, 141) which is evidently based on the destruction of the Assyrian army by the bubonic plague (cf. II Kings 19:35),<sup>55</sup> and the second (18:17, 19:8) by a relief portraying Sennacherib receiving the tribute of Lachish, a town which is not named in the list of captured cities in the account of the campaign of 701. The occurrence of at least one Western campaign during the last years of Sennacherib's reign is proved by an inscription published in 1904 by Scheil.<sup>56</sup> This may easily have been one of a series of expeditions, the record of which has not yet been discovered. In II Kings 19:9, Tirhaka is mentioned as the leader of the Egyptian army (the Assyrian record for 701 speaks of the "kings of Egypt") and is called "king of Ethiopia." Therefore this passage must refer to a campaign after 691, the earliest possible date for the accession of Tirhaka. This later date for the campaign is further rendered probable by the fact that II Kings 19:37 speaks of the death of Sennacherib in 682 as occurring immediately after his return to Nineveh.

This evidence is not, however, conclusive. The most important links in the chain, the narratives in II Kings 18:17 ff. and in Herodotus, are obviously legendary, and although we must recognize that such legends have almost always a basis in fact, we cannot place much reliance on the details of the stories. The only fact for which the agreement of these legends furnishes evidence is that at some time the army of Sennacherib was attacked by plague, and that Sennacherib soon after returned to Assyria. It seems hardly necessary to assume a second campaign to find a place for such a disaster. The Assyrian records

<sup>55</sup> G. A. Smith, *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, pp. 158, 236.

<sup>56</sup> Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, p. 345.



are frequently silent concerning defeat, or report a defeat as a victory (cf. KB., II, pp. 40, 41 with KB., II, pp. 276, 277).<sup>57</sup> If Sennacherib had lost a part of his army in 701, he would not have recorded the loss in his inscriptions. The contradictions between II Kings 18:13-16 and the following narratives may be explained as due to the difference in the character of the narratives. 18:13-16 was probably taken by the compiler from the annals of king Hezekiah, while the other two narratives belong to the collections of legends of the prophets, parallel to the stories of Elijah and Elisha. Such legends would naturally emphasize the deliverance of the city and ignore the submission of Hezekiah. Since the compiler arranged the narrative as it now stands from three different sources, obviously with the intention of working up to a fitting climax,<sup>58</sup> there is no reason to suppose that Hezekiah's offer of submission was the first step in the matter. If Sennacherib had lost a part of his army and also had heard of the renewed activity of Merodach-Baladan (II Kings 19:7 seems to refer to news from Babylon rather than to Tirhaka's advance which is part of the introduction to the third narrative), he would have been very willing to accept Hezekiah's offer of submission which would leave him free to return at once to the East. When the inhabitants of Jerusalem learned of the plague and of the revolt of Merodach-Baladan, the natural conclusion would be that both were the work of Jahveh to protect His people.

It is said, however, that a sparing of Jerusalem after forty-six other cities of Judah had been taken, the whole country devastated, and an enormous tribute exacted, is not a sufficiently great deliverance to account for the narratives of II Kings 18:16 ff. It may seem to us a natural act for Sennacherib to accept tribute and save himself the trouble of a prolonged siege, but it would hardly have seemed so natural to the people who had seen an Assyrian army before their walls. To the Jews who had seen the destruction of Ashdod in 711, and but recently that of Ekron, it must have seemed a miracle of Jahveh's working that their king, the leader of the revolt, was left ruling over an unharmed city.

<sup>57</sup> Quoted by Kemper Fullerton, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, LXIII, pp. 577-634.

<sup>58</sup> Fullerton, *ibid.*

The other points offer no real difficulties. The absence of mention of Lachish in the Assyrian record would be natural if Lachish was one of the "forty-six fenced cities" of Hezekiah, and it apparently did belong to Judah in the reign of Amaziah (II Kings 14:19, cf. also Mi. 1:13). The date of Tirhaka really fits neither theory. According to Breasted, his accession could hardly have occurred before 688,<sup>59</sup> and it is not probable that Hezekiah ruled so late. Breasted also concludes from a mutilated tablet<sup>60</sup> that Tirhaka led a campaign to Palestine in his youth, while his uncle was king of Egypt. Any account of the expedition written after 688 would naturally use his title. The ignoring of any interval between the return of Sennacherib and his death is quite in keeping with the whole character of the legends of the prophets.

The only other important information which we have concerning Hezekiah's reign is found in II Kings 18:3-6, which asserts that he removed the high places. Although the reform is described from the point of view of the post-Deuteronomic redactor, the mention of the brazen serpent indicates that the reforms themselves were actual. They were probably undertaken in the last years of his reign after the deliverance of Jerusalem<sup>61</sup>. It is during this time that the expectation of the reign of an ideal king might easily develop. Jahveh had shown His ability to protect Zion by His direct intervention, and the whole people, with the remembrance of their deliverance fresh in their minds, were eagerly serving Jahveh alone, as their king demanded. Surely it would be natural to hope that Jahveh would soon raise up among Hezekiah's successors a king who should enable them wholly to free themselves from the Assyrian supremacy, and would regain for the chosen people the glory of the reign of Solomon.

It has been asserted by some scholars,<sup>62</sup> however, that such a hope could have formed no part of Isaiah's teaching since he

<sup>59</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records*, IV, p. 492.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 455-56.

<sup>61</sup> If there were two invasions of Sennacherib, the reforms must have come in the interval between them and would then have furnished the ground for Isaiah's faith in the protection of Jahveh. It is difficult to see, in that case, what motives influenced Hezekiah to reform the religious practices.

<sup>62</sup> E. g. Hackmann, Volz, Marti.

considered that the sin of Judah could be adequately punished only by the total destruction of the nation and often predicted such destruction.<sup>63</sup> The song of the vineyard, 5:1-7, is cited, and compared with such passages as 6:11-13, 22:14, 5:29, 30:14, 31:3. Surely, it is argued, the man who expected such destruction could not have predicted at the same time the rescue of the nation from Assyria and its subsequent prosperity. Therefore, all those sections which promise a saved remnant or the defeat of Assyria or the invulnerability of Zion must be interpolations made in order to relieve the gloom of the prophet's real message.

This conclusion rests on the assumption that such predictions of doom are to be interpreted with the literalness of a mathematical proposition,  $x-x=0$ . Now a preacher endeavoring to arouse an indifferent audience does not use terms with mathematical accuracy. It is a commonplace of interpretation in any literature that rhetorical figures must not be pressed too far. 5:1-7 is a parable in form, while 30:14, the potter smashing the marred vessel, and 31:3 where the helper and the helped stumble to destruction together, are both figurative. 6:11-13; 22:14; 31:3, are meant as forceful portrayals of a terrible chastisement, rather than as assurances of the annihilation of the nation. Also the idea of the literal annihilation of a nation like Judah by an invading army was unthinkable at that time. A few mud villages could be ground to dust, even a strongly walled city might "become heaps," prisoners were killed or sold as slaves, but the larger proportion of the population would expect to survive any invasion and to rebuild their homes upon the ruins. Campaigns were not managed in those days with quite the modern thoroughness, there were no machine guns to kill men by the thousands. An invading army ruthlessly destroyed all which fell in its way, but in a hill country like Judea, with its heights from which an army could be seen hours before its arrival, with its winding valleys full of caves, there was much which would never fall in an enemy's way. Sargon captured Samaria and, following the precedent set by Tiglath-Pileser, carried off 27,000 people, but two years later Samaria was ready for another rebellion, and two hundred years later was still a

<sup>63</sup> Marti, *Jesaja*, p. XXI.



nation with sufficient consciousness of its own identity to interfere seriously with the rebuilding of the walls of Jerusalem.

Once these things are realized, the "irreconcilable" contradiction between Isaiah's prophecies of destruction and those of restoration vanishes. Furthermore the long continuance of Isaiah's ministry would be psychologically inexplicable if he had been a prophet of disaster alone. Isaiah was not a "transient evangelist" like Amos. He was the leader of his nation through a long life. Had he simply reprovved and denounced, he would have been run out of town as Amos was in much less than forty years.<sup>64</sup>

Isaiah's certainty of the survival of a remnant of the people is preserved to us, outside his predictions, in the name of his eldest son, **שָׂאֵר יִשׁוּב**. Prof. J. M. P. Smith has recently suggested<sup>65</sup> that the only possible meaning of this name which gives any point to the presence of the boy at the interview with Ahaz (chapter 7) is **שָׂאֵר יִשׁוּב** "a remnant shall remain." Obviously a prediction of the survival of a remnant may be either a threat or a promise, according to the point of view. At a time of prosperity it is a threat emphasizing the greatness of an impending disaster. This, of course, is its meaning applied to Samaria and Damascus in chapter 7.<sup>66</sup> In passages such as 1:18; 29:4; 30:17, the emphasis is clearly on the terrible completeness of the desolation which will leave Judah like "a lodge in a garden of cucumbers" or a single beacon on a hill-top. But when the dread Assyrian army was actually approaching, when the allies were deserting or falling one after another into the hands of the conqueror, then the thought that after all some part of the nation would escape, brought comfort. It was then that Isaiah spoke of the surviving remnant with a new significance. Here belong 1:24-26; 6:13; 10:20-23; 37:31-32.

But according to the narrative in chapters 36-37 Isaiah's encouragement at this time was far more definite. Not only would a remnant of the people be left, Jerusalem itself would entirely escape destruction (cf. 37:33). Now, as has already been said, although these two narratives, being legendary in

<sup>64</sup> G. A. Barton, *JBL.*, XXIII, p. 69.

<sup>65</sup> *ZAW.*, 1914, pp. 219-224.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. Kemper Fullerton's interpretation of Is. 9:8-10:4; 5:26-27, in *AJSL.*, XXXIII, 9-39.

character, cannot be trusted for accuracy of detail, they probably had their origin in an actual event. The theme of both is that Isaiah prophesied the safety of Jerusalem, and his prophecy was fulfilled. If nothing of the sort happened, it is difficult to account not only for the rise of the two legends, but also for the influence and importance of Isaiah. If Isaiah prophesied the destruction of Jerusalem and Jerusalem was not destroyed, why should the greatness of his fame have led a later generation to ascribe to him so many things which he did not write? It must be granted, however, that of the two passages, apart from the narrative, which are generally considered in this connection, one, 8:14, is somewhat doubtful in meaning, and the other, 28:16, comes in the collection chapters 28-31 which contains an especially large proportion of late material. With these may be put 8:8 if we read with Duhm כִּי עָמְנוּ אֵל,<sup>67</sup> and thus take the second part of the verse as a promise of protection.<sup>68 69</sup>

Further, if any of the predictions of disaster to Assyria are genuine they support the prophecy of the escape of Jerusalem.<sup>70</sup> Of these, 10:5 ff. is, at least in part, the work of Isaiah, and the nature of the beginning is such that some conclusion predicting the downfall of Assyria is required, even though the present form of the conclusion may be the work of a redactor. Chapter 31 clearly contains much late material, yet the definiteness of verse 8 presents a sufficient contrast to the later vague eschatological pictures to suggest that here also the nucleus of the latter part of the chapter was Isaianic.

<sup>67</sup> Duhm, *Jesaia* (ed. 1902), p. 59.

<sup>68</sup> Gray, *Isaiah*, pp. 148, 194-199.

<sup>69</sup> The text of chapter 6:13 is so corrupt that the original meaning of the verse cannot now be determined.

<sup>70</sup> Georg Beer (*Wellhausen Festschrift*, pp. 15-35) denies any of the anti-Assyrian passages to Isaiah. 10:5-34 is a composite of which 10:5-19 is a poem against Assyria written just before the fall of Nineveh, 10:20-27 is post-exilic, v. 27 referring to the Seleucid kingdom, and 10:28-37 is Maccabean. Aside from the general argument, that these passages are inconsistent with Isaiah's view of the Assyrian as Jahveh's instrument, Beer declares that the mention of "all the earth" 10:14 requires a date after the conquest of Egypt in 670. One wishes that all conquering armies were equally exact in their claims.

Duhm<sup>71</sup> concluded that Isaiah preached this hope for a remnant which was to consist of his disciples alone, a sort of inner circle. This idea, however, puts too much weight on the single section 8: 16-18, for there is no hint of an inner circle elsewhere in Isaiah's teaching.<sup>72</sup> Isaiah's idea seems to have been rather that the remnant from all classes of the nation, appalled by the desolation which the Assyrian army spread through the land, would realize the folly of expecting help from men, and would rely on Jahveh alone; that then Jahveh would punish the pride of Assyria, rescue His people, preserve His chosen city, and restore "her counsellors as at the beginning." The events so far as they can be ascertained from the historical records occurred as Isaiah expected.

Further the book of Deuteronomy (composed in the generation after Isaiah) testifies to the pre-eminence of the one place for sacrifice which Jahveh "shall choose to set His name upon it," and Jeremiah spoke some of his strongest invectives against those who trusted in the presence of the temple of Jahveh to save them and their city from the enemy (Jer. 7, etc.). Older scholars rightly saw here the result of the vindicated confidence of Isaiah in the protecting power of Jahveh.<sup>73</sup>

If then Isaiah saw his faith in Jahveh justified by the departure of Sennacherib, and his desire for the repentance of his people at least partly satisfied in the reforms of Hezekiah, the Messianic prophecies in chapters 9 and 11 form the fitting climax to his ministry. Hezekiah, vacillating, easily influenced for evil as well as for good, was far from being an ideal king. Surely Jahveh, who had already done so much for His people, would crown His goodness by giving to them a king who would lead them to greater glory.

### SOURCES OF THE MESSIANIC HOPE

But although the expectation of an illustrious successor to Hezekiah was a natural result of the later events of that king's reign, there is still to be considered the question of the origin

<sup>71</sup> Duhm, *Jesaja*, p. 65.

<sup>72</sup> Kemper Fullerton, *HThR.*, vol. 6, pp. 478 ff.

<sup>73</sup> E. g. W. Robertson Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, pp. 363, 370.



of the various elements which Isaiah combined in order to portray the reign of that successor. There are certainly details in Isaiah's description which can hardly be supposed inevitable accompaniments of the occupation of the throne of David by a king of ability and virtue.

Since the publication of Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* in 1895, the view that the prophetic ideal of a Messianic king was borrowed from mythology has won several adherents. The work of such men as Hugo Gressmann<sup>74</sup> has proved conclusively enough the existence in Israel of a popular mythology, which in many ways was directly at variance with the prophetic teachings preserved to us. Naturally the prophets could not but be influenced by the popular ideas. In the book of Amos, their effect is shown in direct contradiction. To Amos, the "day of Jahveh" is "darkness and not light," "as if a man fled from a lion and a bear met him" (Am. 5:18, 19). In the popular conception it was a day in which Jahveh would assert His superiority over other gods in a mighty battle around Jerusalem.<sup>75</sup> The influence of this popular idea on Isaiah (to whom, since it is older than Amos, it must have been known) is seen in certain of the anti-Assyrian passages. It is only a natural supposition that the eschatological expressions which are by some scholars considered evidence of a later date were borrowed intentionally by Isaiah from the popular notion of the day of Jahveh, in order by the use of familiar phrases to make vivid to his audience his conception of the impending event. Such passages are 10:17 destruction by fire, 28:2 by hail, 30:27, 33 by volcanic eruption; all weapons which Jahveh, in popular opinion, would turn in His "day" against Israel's enemies.

According to Gressmann, this popular eschatology early developed in two directions—towards doom and towards hope—and the two parts became entirely separate. To the eschatology of doom belonged the popular conceptions of Jahveh as a destroying God whose weapons were volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, pestilence, war, etc. Certain of these weapons, e. g. the volcano, obviously originated outside of Palestine and probably belonged to Jahveh before Israel entered the country. Others

<sup>74</sup> Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1905.

<sup>75</sup> J. M. P. Smith, *AJTh.*, V, pp. 511 f.

are probably to be explained by the absorption into the cult of Jahveh of the worship of specifically Canaanite deities, such as Resheph, a Canaanite God of war and pestilence. On the other hand the eschatology of hope looked for the coming of a Golden Age, a reappearance of Paradise. To the eschatology of doom, Gressmann assigns the idea of the "Remnant"; to the eschatology of hope, that of the "Messiah." But in the popular eschatology, "the thesis to the antithesis of the prophets," the doom was to fall wholly on the rest of the world, not on the worshippers of Jahveh,<sup>76</sup> for whom only good could be expected. The idea that the "day of Jahveh" was to be a day of punishment for the wicked within Israel was a modification of the popular conception to something compatible with the ethical sense of Amos and his successors. If then Gressmann is correct in assuming that the "remnant" was a part of the eschatology of doom, it must have been applied to a part of the enemies of Jahveh who could perhaps escape total destruction by accepting Jahveh's supremacy and becoming tributary to Israel. Amos, then, who had little occasion to expect any moderation of the disaster which he predicted, simply transferred the remnant along with the doom to Israel (Am. 5:15). But Hosea and Isaiah, believing that at least some portion of the nation would prove faithful to Jahveh, found (to quote Gressmann) in this idea of a remnant a "bridge" between total destruction and Paradise. Thus Isaiah uses the "remnant" both to emphasize destruction and to afford grounds for hope. Gressmann is therefore probably right in supposing that the term "remnant" in the technical sense which it evidently possesses in Am. 5:15 and in the works of later prophets was taken from the popular mythology.

Is he equally justified in asserting a mythological origin for the idea of the Messiah? Obviously certain details in Isaiah's conception of the Messianic reign can have no other origin. The peaceful beasts in 11:6-8 belong quite outside the realm of fact. Indeed, if we are right in supposing that Isaiah borrowed the language of the popular idea of the day of Jahveh and applied it to the relations between Judah and Assyria, it is only consistent to credit him with using the same method to render

<sup>76</sup> J. M. P. Smith, *AJTh.*, V, p. 521; *Amos*, 5:18.

vivid the glory of the reign of a future king. To the Israelites, the most blissful period in the history of the world was the time of the sojourn of Adam and Eve in Eden. In Eden apparently the beasts were harmless since all are brought to Adam for names. In the time of the flood also Noah was evidently able to allow the "wolf to sojourn with the lamb." In neither of these tales, however, is the peaceful nature of the animals an important element, it is merely assumed as a natural condition. But in an old Sumerian myth, a part of which describes the condition of a place (as yet unidentified) before it became the habitation of man, it is particularly emphasized.<sup>77 78</sup>

- "1. They that are lofty, they that are lofty are ye,
2. O, X pure;
3. They that are holy, they that are lofty are ye,
4. . . . O, X pure.
5. X is pure, X is bright,
6. X is splendid, X is resplendent.
7. Alone were they in X, they lay down.
8. Where Enki and his consort lay,
9. That place is splendid, that place is pure.
10. Alone in X they lay down.
11. Where Enki with Ninella lay down,
12. That place is splendid, that place is pure.
13. In X the raven cried not,
14. The kite gave not his kite-call,
15. The deadly lion destroyed not,
16. The wolf a lamb seized not,
17. The dog the weak kid worried not,
18. The ewes the food-grain destroyed not,
19. Offspring increased not . . .
20. The birds of heaven their offspring . . . not,
21. The doves were not put to flight (?)."'

Here from lines 13-21 we get essentially the same picture as from Is. 11:6-8. Also lines 1-6, 9, 12, offer a parallel to Is. 11:9. The ideas illustrated in this Sumerian epic written at

<sup>77</sup> G. A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, p. 283, Philadelphia, 1916.

<sup>78</sup> Stephen Langdon, *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man*, Philadelphia, 1915. Prof. Langdon takes this section as a description of Dilmūn, the Babylonian Paradise, and translates somewhat differently, giving an even closer parallel to Is. 11:6-9.



Nippur before 2000 B. c. perhaps came to Palestine with the early Babylonian conquerors and traders, and remained in the traditions of the Canaanites, to be adopted in turn by the Israelite invaders.

However, the probability that Isaiah drew certain elements of his Messianic poems from a myth originally Sumerian, does not prove that he got the figure of the Messiah himself from that source. Indeed, in X it is a god, Enki, with his consort (lines 8, 11) and not a human being who rules where no beast harms.

Nor can one find traces of a human Paradise king elsewhere in Babylonian mythology. Aside from this Sumerian epic, indeed, but little information concerning the Golden Age myth in Babylonia or Assyria has been preserved. We have in Berossos<sup>79</sup> an account of the antediluvian monarchs, the first of whom, Oannes, half fish and half man, taught his subjects the art of writing, and various other useful arts, introduced laws and land measurements, built cities and founded temples. This creature, with a tail for feet, who spent every night under the sea, hardly afforded to Isaiah the model for the Messiah. Gressmann<sup>80</sup> suggests the possibility of a connection between the Adapa myth<sup>81</sup> and a Paradise king, but the fragments of the tale which have come down to us tell merely how Adapa failed to acquire immortality. The theory of his reign as king, Gressmann bases on the very uncertain identification of Adapa with the second of Berossos's early kings, Alaporos, and on an inscription of Sennacherib in which, according to Gressmann, the king once calls himself "the second Adapa." This inscription<sup>82</sup> reads (1:4)—"The lord of wisdom (i. e. Ea) gave large understanding, the double of the leader, Adapa; he granted large intelligence." There is, therefore, at present no evidence of the existence of a human Paradise king in Babylonian mythology.

A god, not a man, is also the ruler in the Golden Age to which the Egyptians looked back—the blessed period when Ra ruled the earth in person before the revolt of mankind and the god's

<sup>79</sup> Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum Alten Testamente* (translation by Ungnad), pp. 38-39, Göttingen, 1905.

<sup>80</sup> *AJTh.*, 1913, p. 190.

<sup>81</sup> Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, No. 356, Leipzig, 1907-15.

<sup>82</sup> Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*, p. 38, London, 1851 (translation by Prof. G. A. Barton).

departure for the heavenly regions.<sup>83</sup> We have little knowledge of the character of Ra's reign more definite than that conveyed by the frequent phrase "it was not so since the days of Ra,"<sup>84</sup> or the ending of a hymn to Nile,<sup>85</sup> "Thou didst provide for us that which is needful that men may live, even as Ra when he ruled this land." The two legends which have survived in fairly complete form (*Isis and Ra*, and the *Destruction of Mankind*) both deal with the end of his reign after he had grown old and feeble. The tale of the *Winged Sundisk* begins "in the 363rd year of King Ra."<sup>86</sup> In the *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* translated by A. H. Gardiner, there is a fragmentary passage which Gardiner interprets as a description of Ra's reign. His translation is as follows:<sup>87</sup>

"He bringeth (?) coolness upon that which is hot. It is said: he is the herdsman of mankind. No evil is in his heart. When his herds are few, he passes the day to gather them together, their hearts being on fire (?) . . . so long as (?) the gods in the midst thereof endure (?) seed shall come forth (?) from the women of the people; none (?) is found on the way (?) a fighter (?) goes forth, that he (?) may destroy the wrongs that (?) they have brought about. There is no pilot (?) in their moment. Where is he (?) today? Is he sleeping? Behold his might is not seen."

But even in this passage there is no suggestion that Ra might return to earth or that the blessings of his reign would be repeated. We find, then, no evidence for the Messianic idea in Egyptian mythology.

Gressmann further suggests the possibility of a Canaanite origin for the idea, and here the absence of any knowledge of Canaanite mythology makes proof or refutation alike impossible. There is one bit of legend preserved in Sanchoniathon's curious

<sup>83</sup> Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 52, New York, 1897; Zimmermann, *Ägyptische Religion*, p. 11, Paderborn, 1912; Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 211, New York, 1909.

<sup>84</sup> Merneptah inscription, Israelite stele, line 10. *Altorientalische Texte* . . . , p. 193.

<sup>85</sup> Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 147.

<sup>86</sup> Wiedemann, *ibid.*, p. 69.

<sup>87</sup> A. H. Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, 11: 11-12: 6, Leipzig, 1909.

medley,<sup>88</sup> a tale of a certain Porus "who rode about on a camel, kept watch of the sanctuaries, and conferred benefits on the children of Uranus." Are we to take Porus as Isaiah's model?

Oesterly<sup>89</sup> has attempted to show that the Messianic ideal is a myth originating within Israel itself, independent of outside influence. He would explain it as a development of the second of the three mythical ideas common to humanity—the belief in a beneficent power—which in Israel took the form of the Jahveh-myth, paralleled by the "Heilbringer" in all mythologies. But the expectation that an illustrious king (at least partly human) should sit triumphantly on David's throne seems hardly a logical development from an expectation that Jahveh would rule the world—especially among a people who like the Israelites did not deify their heroes (cf. the legends of the patriarchs).

But is the idea of the Messianic king necessarily mythological? Gressmann asserts positively that it is. He finds in the conception three consecutive stages:

- (1) The divine child bringing peace to Israel at birth.
- (2) The king with divine epithets and functions.
- (3) The descendant of David ruling at the end of the world.

The first of the three stages which he names is the only one which is necessarily mythological; and the evidence for the existence of this belief in Israel is derived almost wholly from the interpretation of Is. 7 as a Messianic prediction. Modern scholars almost unanimously reject as entirely unjustified any such interpretation of the sign promised by Isaiah to Ahaz, since "the sign lies not . . . in the circumstances of the birth, but in the chain of events predicted and their association with the . . . naming of the child."<sup>90</sup> Gressmann's chief reasons for dissenting from this view are the mention of milk and honey in Is. 7: 15 "a striking parallel to the food of Zeus in Crete,"<sup>91</sup> and the use of the word העלמה Is. 7: 14. Prof. Barton has shown conclusively<sup>92</sup> that to the Semite the phrase "milk and honey" had no mythological associations. העלמה,

<sup>88</sup> Sanchoniathon, *Phönizische Geschichte*, § 7; German translation, 1837.

<sup>89</sup> Oesterly, *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea*, chapters 8, 10, New York, 1908.

<sup>90</sup> Gray, *Isaiah*, p. 124.

<sup>91</sup> Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israelitisch-jüdischen Eschatologie*, p. 215.

<sup>92</sup> Article. "Milk," Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*.



which carries none of the significance of the Greek *παρθένος*, Hebrew *בתולה*, may mean equally well "the young woman," "a young woman," or "young women."<sup>93</sup> Hence Gressmann's argument for the miraculous character of the child Immanuel falls to the ground.

The second and third stages into which he divides the development of the idea are not clearly distinguished and may easily be united or put in the reverse order. Further it is hardly clear that the descendant of David is not to appear until the end of the world. Our evidence for dating most of the Messianic passages is internal, and Gressmann seems rather arbitrary in assuming that a king with divine epithets developed into a descendant of David rather than *vice versa*.

Gressmann's further argument that the Messianic idea must be of foreign origin because early Israel had no king is valid only if it can be proved that the conception existed in Israel before the establishment of the Israelite kingdom; and such proof is not given. The two passages which Gressmann cites as evidence of great antiquity because of the mention of the ass, e. g. Zech. 9:9 and Gen. 49:11, may easily be due to the use of the ass at the coronation of Solomon (I Kings 1:33, 38).

The earliest definite formulation of a Messianic expectation is found in the prophecy of Isaiah. Is it not possible to find the origin of the essential elements of his figure of the Messiah in history instead of in mythology? The J and E sections of the books of Samuel and Kings, which received nearly their present form in the eighth century, bear witness that the reigns of Saul, of David, and especially of Solomon were then being idealized and thought of in terms of the world empire of Assyria. A study of these stories reveals, emphasized in them, those characteristics which Isaiah portrayed in his ideal ruler. Verbal identity we do not find. Isaiah was a poet as well as a prophet, and a poet of great originality. He therefore clothes in new words the ideas current among his people.

1:26. *שפטִיךָ כבִּרְאשֹׁנָה ויעֲצִיךָ כבִּתְחִלָּה*. For *שפט*, cf. Ex. 18:12-27 (E), where Moses appoints rulers to judge the people, also Num. 25:5 (E); if Dillmann<sup>94</sup> is right in asserting

<sup>93</sup> Gray, *Isaiah*, pp. 124 f., 132; G-K., 126q (2d English edition, Oxford, 1910).

<sup>94</sup> Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, p. 15, 5th edition, Leipzig, 1890.

that the reference is not pre-Davidic, cf. II Sam. 15:2, 4. For **יעץ**, cf. II Sam. 15:12; 16:23; 17, Ahitophel the counsellor of David, and I Kings 12:6, 8, 13, the counsellors of Solomon contrasted with those of Rehoboam. 1:27, as has been suggested, was perhaps meant as a contrast to Hezekiah's method of ransoming Jerusalem by gold.

9:3. **כיום מדין** cf. Judg. 7.

9:4. **ושמלה מגוללה ברמים**, cf. I Kings 2:5 ff., Solomon punishes Joab because **אשר בחגרתו אשר** **ויתן דמי מלחמה** **במאתיו ובנעלו אשר ברגליו**.

9:5. **המשירה על-שכמו**. The root is **שרר** (BDB) = "rise in splendor," "shine." In I Sam. 9:16 et al., Saul is anointed **לנגיד על עמי**. **נגר** = "be conspicuous." (Was the phrase, **על שכמו**, perhaps suggested by the description of Saul, I Sam. 9:2, **משכמו ומעלה גבה מכל העם**?) If the idea of **על שכמו** is the burden of government, cf. rather I Kings 3:9 ff.

9:5. **פלא יועץ**, cf. Solomon's request for wisdom, I Kings 3:7 ff., and also David's first appearance, I Sam. 16:18, **נבון דבר**.

**אל גבור** cf. I Sam. 16:18 **גבור חיל**, II Sam. 1:19, David's lament for Saul and Jonathan. For the use of **אל**, cf. the idea that he who cursed a king should die, II Sam. 19:21, Ex. 22:28; also David's refusal to harm Saul, I Sam. 24:3-12; 26:6-16, because he is the "Lord's anointed," and II Sam. 1:21. Cf. further the use of **אל גבור** of giants in Ez. 32:21.

**אבי ער**. For **ער**, "booty," cf. Gen. 49:27. Cf. the various exploits of Saul and David, e. g. I Sam. 30:22 ff., the law of the division of spoil, II Sam. 12:30 ff., the spoil of Rabbah.

**שר שלום**. Cf. the traditional character of Solomon. The peacefulness of his reign is emphasized chiefly by the redactor, but it is also the general view and is implied by his alliance with Hiram, etc.

9:6. **על כסא דוד**. A common phrase in I Kings 1, 2, 3.

**על ממלכתו**, cf. I Kings 1:46, **על כסא המלוכה**, **ישב שלמה על כסא המלוכה**, **אתה ולסערה** cf. I Kings 1:35, **אתה ולסערה** and I Kings 2:24, **יהוה אשר הכיני**.

**במשפט ובצדקה** cf. I Kings 3:9, Solomon's request for wisdom **לשפט את-עמך להבין בין טוב לרע** and also I Kings 3:11, 28, **לעשות משפט**, **לשמע**.

11:1. מְנוּעַ יִשִּׁי cf. "son of Jesse" for David, I Sam. 20:27, 30; 22:7, 8, 9; 25:10; II Sam. 20:1; I Kings 12:16.

11:2. רוּחַ יְהוָה cf. I Sam. 10:6; 11:6; 16:14.

רוּחַ חֲכָמָה וּבִינָה cf. I Kings 3:9, 28.

יְרֵאתָ יְהוָה cf. II Sam. 1:14, 16, יֵרֵאתָ, *fear* to slay the Lord's anointed, and II Sam. 6:9, "David was afraid of Jahveh that day."

11:3, 4a, cf. again Solomon's request for wisdom.

11:4b. וְהִכָּה-עֲרִיץ בִּשְׁבֹט פִּי. Was the figure perhaps suggested by the narrative of I Kings 2 where Solomon by the utterance of a word causes the death of his enemies?

11:10b. אֱלֹהֵי גִוִּים יִרְרָשׁוּ cf. Hiram of Tyre. The tale of the Queen of Sheba perhaps originated about this time, since we know that in 715 Sargon took tribute from Saba.

וְהִיטָה מִנְחָתוֹ כְּבוֹד cf. II Sam. 7:1 or perhaps I Kings 2:10.

The picture of the peace among the animals, drawn from mythology, is, of course, figurative;<sup>95</sup> but its appropriateness to describe a time of prosperity becomes obvious if we remember how quickly disaster in war was followed by ravages from wild beasts (cf. Ex. 23:29, 30; II Kings 17:25). Further, David's first exploits were the slaying of lions and bears which came to devour the flock (I Sam. 17:34-36. Cf. Ecclus. 47:3).

It must, however, be remembered that the idea of having a king was borrowed by the Israelites from their Canaanite neighbors so that their conception of his nature and duties must have been largely Canaanite. But the Canaanites at the time of the Habiri invasion were just beginning to throw off the rule of Egypt. Now the king of Egypt was considered the "son of Ra," a title first assumed by User-k-f, first king of the fifth dynasty,<sup>96</sup> in a very literal sense, and received his divinity by inheritance. (Cf. the reliefs on the temple of Hatsepsut at Deir el-Bahari, of Amenophis III at Luxor, of Cleopatra VII at Erment.<sup>97</sup>) During his life the king was called "the good God" in distinction to the heavenly deities who were called "great Gods,"<sup>98</sup> but he bore the latter title after death. He

<sup>95</sup> W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel*, p. 303.

<sup>96</sup> Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, p. 329, London, 1904.

<sup>97</sup> Zimmermann, *Ägyptische Religion*, p. 14; Budge, *ibid.*, p. 329; Erman, *Ägyptische Religion*, p. 40, Tübingen, 1885.

<sup>98</sup> Erman, *ibid.*, p. 39.



was, however, while living, so closely identified with the sun-god that his palace was called "the horizon," when he showed himself "he rose," when he died "he set"; and on his head he wore the emblem of the sacred sun serpent.<sup>99</sup> When the Ḥabiri entered Palestine, the heretic king, Ikhnaten, was on the throne of Egypt, but he was still addressed by the old titles with the substitution of Aten, the sun-disk, for Ra. The Tell-el-Amarna letters<sup>100</sup> are full of phrases showing how entirely the Canaanites accepted the Pharaoh's claim to deity. "Sun" or "son of the sun" he is of course called times without number, e. g. 49:1, 3; 53:1; 84:1, 30; 147:5, 6, 52; 211:16. Namiawaza says (195:8 ff.): "At the feet of the king my lord, the sun, the message(?) from the mornings and the evenings . . . The lord is the Sun in the Heaven, and as for the coming out of the sun from the heaven so wait the servants for the coming out of the words from the mouth of their Lord." In 292:8 ff. Addudani says: "I have looked here and I have looked there, but there is no light. I have looked towards the king my Lord, and there is the light." After Egypt abandoned Palestine, the Canaanites would naturally transfer these epithets to their own petty kings, and thus this mode of thought would be familiar to Israel. Indeed, 51, a letter from Addu-Nirari, seems to show that the very ceremony of anointing which gave Saul the spirit of Jahveh, was introduced into Canaan by Thothmes III. "Behold as Manah-bi-i-ia (i. e. Thothmes III), king of Egypt, thy grandfather (T)a(ku), my grandfather, in Nuhašše made king, and oil on his head put; for he thus spoke, that one whom the king of Egypt makes king, and on (whose head he oil) has put shall no one overthrow."<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Erman, *ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>100</sup> References are made to the edition of Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1907-15.

<sup>101</sup> Contrary to this view is the fact that anointing with animal fat was among the primitive Semites a necessary part of the sacrificial customs. The agricultural Semites modified the practice by burning the fat of the sacrifice and using vegetable fat for anointing. Among all Semites anointing was practiced at festivals, and in connection with the priesthood. Sacred stones and images were also anointed with oil as an act of worship (cf. W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 232, 383). However, the particular significance of the rite in connection with the office of king may well have originated in Egypt. 35:24; 34:47, 50; 1:95, testify to the

May we not, therefore, see in Isaiah's shining light (9:1) an echo of the courtly phrases of Addudani and his fellows? And for 11:4b, shall we not compare the appeal from the city of Irkata, 100:34 f., "may the breath of the king not depart from us. We have shut the city gate until the breath of the king come to us."? Cf. also 141:14 ff.; 145:19; 195:19 f. And again, Abimilki's eulogy of the Pharaoh (147:5) suggests Is. 9:7, "My lord is the sun . . . He it is who makes alive by his good . . . who establishes the whole land in rest through the might of *the hand*." Again the king of Egypt like Isaiah's Messiah can judge rightly without hearing; cf. with Is. 11:3, 119:36 "is no man who has spoken my right before the king, my lord. But my right the king knows."

Further, since Isaiah was writing in the period of Assyrian supremacy, the claims and titles of the Assyrian kings must have been as familiar to him as those of the Davidic dynasty in Jerusalem. The description and names of the child (Is. 9:6-7) are by no means a translation of the Assyrian epithets, but there is a similarity undoubtedly intentional, between the effect of the whole and the grandiloquent beginnings of many Assyrian inscriptions. Compare for example that of Shalman-ezer II (*KB.*, I, p. 153), "Shalman-ezer II, king of hosts, the prince, the priest of Ashur, the mighty king, . . . the sun of the hosts, who subdues all lands, the king, the honorer of the Gods, the darling of Bel, the officer of Ashur, the mighty, the exalted prince, who finds ways and paths, treads down the ends of the hills, and of all the mountains, who receives tribute and gifts of all the regions of the world (cf. Is. 11:10ab), who opens paths everywhere, before whose mighty battle storm the regions of the world stoop . . . the heroic, strong one (cf. **אל גבור**) . . . the splendid sprout of Takultî-Ninib."

But in spite of their epithets the kings of Assyria are only mortal. They often claim to have been designated as king by the gods before birth: "I am Ashur-bani-pal . . . whose name Ashur and Sin, the possessor of the king's cap(?), since distant days, had called to rule, and whom they in his mother's

importance of gifts of olive oil to the Pharaoh (Knudtzon, notes on 51) and the phraseology of Addu-Nirari's letter suggests that the Egyptians had transferred their own custom to Nuhašše, with the necessary explanation of its meaning.

womb had established to the shepherding over Assyria" (*KB.*, II, p. 153). But the birth itself is natural. The king may even call a divinity mother or father, cf. the hymn of Gudea of Lagash to Bau, dating from about 2450 B. C.:<sup>102</sup>

"I have no mother—thou art my mother;  
I have no father—thou art my father.  
My father . . . in a holy place thou hast produced me,  
Goddess Bau, thou knowest what is good.  
Thou hast given me the breath of life,  
Under the protection of my mother, in thy shadow  
I will reverently dwell."

But since the goddess is both mother and father, the hymn can hardly be meant literally. The story of the birth of Sargon cannot be taken as evidence for the claim of divine parentage, since the correct translation is apparently "my mother was poor."<sup>103</sup> Some of the earliest kings, e. g. Sargon of Agade and his son Naram-Sin have their names written with the sign for deity.<sup>104</sup> Naram-Sin is portrayed with upturned horns on his head, the symbol of deity,<sup>105</sup> and on a monument of Ur-Nina the ruler himself offers a libation,<sup>106</sup> the names of Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin of the dynasty of Ur were also written with the sign of deity,<sup>107</sup> but the later kings require a priest even to bring them into the presence of God. There is no evidence for even a partially divine character of kings after the time of the Kassite kings of Babylon.<sup>108</sup>

The kings are, however, especially favored by the Gods, and under their especial protection. Compare with Is. 11:2 such claims as the following made by Nebuchadrezzar, presumably

<sup>102</sup> Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 465, Philadelphia, 1915.

<sup>103</sup> *Altorientalische Texte* . . .

<sup>104</sup> Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 19, New York, 1911.

<sup>105</sup> Jastrow, *Aspects* . . ., p. 23, Plate 8.

<sup>106</sup> Jastrow, *The Civilization* . . ., p. 271.

<sup>107</sup> G. A. Barton, *JAOS.*, XXXIV, p. 318, and *Haverford Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, II, p. 58, No. 278, Philadelphia, 1914.

<sup>108</sup> Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel*, II, 1, pp. 144-149, Münster, 1907-10, makes the last divine king Hammurabi, but cf. Hilprecht, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Series A, XX, p. 52.



imitating his predecessors: "King of Babylon . . . the exalted who understands the expression of the lawful inclination of the great Gods" (*KB.*, III:2, p. 39); and with 11:5, this from the inscription of Merodach-Baladan: "this is the ruler who brings together the injured, a just sceptre, a staff which leads aright the men intrusted to his hand" (*KB.*, III:1, p. 185). There are parallels also for the "shoot" of Jesse, cf. "the sprout of Bel-kapkap, the former king who still before the ancient time of the kingdom of Sulilu ruled" (*KB.*, I, p. 191), cf. also *KB.*, I, p. 153.

Since, then, the epithets of the king predicted by Isaiah are only those which could be applied to a powerful king of Israel sitting on the throne in Jerusalem in Isaiah's time, it is hardly fair to insist that the figure of the king is mythological because certain accompaniments of his reign are described in terms drawn from mythology. There is in Isaiah's thought no room for a supernatural monarch, but as has been shown, his thought requires to make it logically complete, the picture of the restoration of the days of David and Solomon as Isaiah understood them.

For the prediction of an actual (not a mythical) king by a prophet we have at least one striking parallel in the literature of Egypt. A papyrus, No. 1116 of the Hermitage of Petrograd, dating from about the middle of the XIX dynasty (two other copies of part of the contents are preserved),<sup>109</sup> tells a tale of the prophecy spoken by a priest in the presence of king Snefru (c. 2950 B. C.). The prophecy runs as follows (according to Sayce and Ranke): "A king shall come from the South, Ameni, the truth declaring, by name. He shall be a son of a woman of Nubia and will be born in the inner part of Nechen (the old capital of Upper Egypt). He shall assume the crown of Upper Egypt, and put upon himself the Lower Egypt crown. He shall unite the double crown and make at peace Horus and Set in love. The people of the age of the son of man shall rejoice and establish his name for all eternity. They shall be removed far from evil and the wicked shall humble their mouths for fear of him. The Asiatics shall fall before his blows, the Libyans before his

<sup>109</sup> Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt and Babylon*, p. 248, Edinburgh, 1903. Golenischeff, in *Recueil de Travaux*, XV, pp. 88, 89; *Altorientalische Texte* . . ., pp. 204 ff. (translation by Ranke). Compare also the translation by Gardiner, in *Jour. Eg. Arch.*, April, 1914.

flame, the enemy before the rage of his . . . and the rebels before his strength. The royal serpent on his brow shall pacify the revolted. A wall shall be built, even that of the prince, that the Asiatics may no more enter into Egypt. They ask for water . . . according to the manner of . . . in order to give drink to their cattle. The truth will again come to its place, while the lie . . . overthrown. He rejoices over it, he who shall see, who shall be in the train of the king. A wise man will sprinkle water for me when he sees that which I have said come to pass." There is in this prophecy a possible implication that the king to come is a miraculous being, and so Sayce interpreted it. But Ranke, following a suggestion of Eduard Meyer, points out that Ameni is the abbreviated form of Amen-em-het, and that the prophecy may be referred to Amenemhet I, the founder of the XII dynasty. The epithet, "son of a man," applied to the king is, according to Ranke, the regular expression for "a man of noble birth" in distinction to the son of an unknown father. The "prince's wall," which is referred to also in the *Romance of Sinuhit* and was therefore in existence about 1970, is the wall built on the Eastern frontier to keep the Bedoui out of Egypt. One of the inscriptions of Amenemhet quoted by Breasted,<sup>110</sup> makes for him somewhat the same claim as does the prophecy, "binding of the chiefs of the Two Lands, capturing the South and the Northland, the foreign countries and the two regions, the Nine Bows and the Two Lands." Plainly, therefore, Egyptians of a later day thought that this first of the great kings of the South had been predicted nearly a thousand years before his birth. Such a tale could originate only among a people who were accustomed to hear predictions of good to occur in the reigns of future human kings. Thus although we can find in Egyptian thought no parallel for the expectation of a mythological Hebrew Messiah, we do find there the same expectation of an ideal human king.

### PRE-EXILIC MESSIANIC EXPECTATIONS

One argument against the genuineness of the Messianic passages in Isaiah should be considered more fully—namely that the specific expectation of an ideal Davidic king did not originate

<sup>110</sup> Breasted, *A History of Egypt*, p. 151, New York, 1905.

until there was no longer an actual Davidic king upon the throne.<sup>111</sup>

This view is by no means universally accepted. Sellin<sup>112</sup> asserts, with Gressmann, that the idea of a Messiah is an early Semitic ideal, older than the Hebrew monarchy. The arguments drawn from mythology have already been considered, but Sellin discusses in much greater detail than Gressmann the evidence afforded by the early Hebrew literature. In the early J stories of the patriarchs there are certainly expressions of an expectation of a glorious future for the Hebrew nation, cf. Gen. 9:25-27, the blessing of Shem; Gen. 12:2, the promise to Abraham; Gen. 28:14, the promise to Jacob; and from J and E, Gen. 27:27-29, Isaac's blessing to Jacob. (Gen. 22:17; 26:4, which Sellin also cites are the work of E<sup>2</sup>.)<sup>113</sup> Sellin is undoubtedly correct in assuming that these stories are much older than the time of the composition of the J document, but none of these passages makes any specific mention of an individual ruler; and the description of the blessing is in all cases too general in phraseology to admit many deductions. Sellin's inference that the inclusion of "all the world" proves the mythological and non-Israelite origin of the idea is hardly admissible. Would a comparison with the folk-lore of any other nation lead us to expect Gen. 12:2 to read "in thee shall be blessed those nations whose territories border on thine"? These passages therefore prove nothing beyond the existence of the very natural belief that Jahveh would prosper His people. (Judg. 5:31 is a less positive expression of the same idea.)

There are certain passages in the Pentateuch which may be interpreted as predictions of an individual, e. g. Gen. 49:22-26, the blessing of Joseph; Gen. 49:9-12, the blessing of Judah; Num. 24:17-20, Balaam's blessing upon Jacob (since Deut. 33:13-16 is based upon Gen. 49:22-26 and is less definite, it needs no separate consideration). Sellin asserts that these passages portray in eschatological colors the rescue of the Israelites by an individual. Now Gen. 49 is generally admitted to contain elements of different dates,<sup>114</sup> which were combined at least at

<sup>111</sup> Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton* (Mi. 5:15), Tübingen, 1903-04.

<sup>112</sup> Sellin, *Die israelitisch-jüdische Heilandserwartung*, Berlin, 1909.

<sup>113</sup> Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *The Hexateuch*, London, 1900.

<sup>114</sup> Carpenter and Harford-Battersby, *ibid.*; Skinner, "Genesis" (*Int. Crit. Com.*), 1910.



late as the reign of David, so that it furnishes no certain evidence for the existence of conceptions earlier than the monarchy. Furthermore, the text of vv. 22-26 is extremely corrupt; the only possible reference to an individual is v. 24ed, but "the mighty one of Jacob" is obviously Jahveh, cf. v. 25 and Is. 1:24; 49:26, so that the parallelism requires the last clause also to refer to Jahveh. Skinner<sup>115</sup> reads with  $\Sigma\tau^o$  "through the name of the shepherd of the Israel-Stone"; Mitchell,<sup>116</sup> ". . . shepherd of Israel thy father." Vv. 9-12 were evidently written after the rule of David had been firmly established (since the continuance of something non-existent is hardly an admissible prediction). The Messianic interpretation of the term, *Shiloh*, is first given in the Talmud<sup>117</sup> as a parallel to  $\text{ינון}$ , Ps. 72:2;  $\text{חנינה}$ , Jer. 16:13 et al., fanciful interpretations devised as compliments to various rabbis. The word was evidently never intended as a proper name. Many emendations on the basis of the versions have been suggested, i. e.  $\text{משלה}$   $\text{שלו}$ ,  $\text{שלם}$ ,  $\text{אשר לו}$ ,  $\text{שלו}$ . The parallelism of the following clause could be kept by reading  $\text{ה} + \text{שלי}$   $\text{locale}$ <sup>118</sup> "until he enters into peace and his is the obedience of the nations," cf.  $\text{בשלי}$  II Sam. 3:27;  $\text{שילה}$  would then arise by transposition, and the rarity of the term  $\text{שלי}$  would hinder the correction of the mistake. In any case the passage is clearly a *vaticinium ex eventu* concerning the rise of the Davidic dynasty coupled with the prediction of its long continuance. The various oracles of Balaam are best explained as composed at the same time as Gen. 49 and for a similar purpose, although the story in which they are inserted is probably much older. The monarchy is presupposed, and the mention of both Edom and Moab fits best the reign of David.<sup>119</sup> For the use of the term "star" cf. Is. 14:12, Ez. 32:7. Sellin proposes to supplement the vagueness of these prophecies by deducing the character of the expected rescuer from the common attributes of the heroes in the book of Judges, but neither miraculous birth (cf. Gideon,

<sup>115</sup> Skinner, *ibid.*

<sup>116</sup> H. G. Mitchell, *Genesis* (B.H.S.), 1909.

<sup>117</sup> Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*.

<sup>118</sup> G-K 90 a-h.

<sup>119</sup> G. B. Gray, *Numbers* (Int. Crit. Com.), 1903; Baentsch, *Exodus. Leviticus, Numeri*, Göttingen, 1903; Holzinger, *Numeri*, Tübingen, 1903.

Jephthah) nor phenomenal physical strength (cf. Deborah) seems to be a necessary characteristic of these heroes.

Thus the Hebrew literature before the time of the literary prophets gives evidence only for an expectation of national prosperity, and a hope of the long continuance of the ruling dynasty. Amos, the first of the prophets, denied the possibility of the fulfilment of even this hope, for Am. 9:11-15 presupposes the exile (v. 14) and is also entirely inconsistent with the rest of the prophet's teaching. On the other hand it is impossible to conceive the message of Hosea without some element of hope for the future. He pleaded eloquently for a return of the nation to the loving worship of Jahveh, and such phrases as 2:2; 10:12; 11:1, 3, imply that if Israel returned, there would be forgiveness and renewal of favor on the part of Jahveh. How definite was Hosea's expression of this future hope is less easily determined since many passages in the book are either post-exilic or have suffered a post-exilic revision, e. g. 11:9-11; 14:4-9.<sup>120</sup> But 2:14-23; 3:1-5 are as a whole consistent with Hosea's phraseology and thought. The definite denunciation of Ba'al worship (2:16, 17) and the lack of reference to any return from exile prove 2:16, 17 at least earlier than 586, and the "pillar" and "teraphim" (3:4) argue for the pre-Deuteronomic character of chapter 3. But since a pre-exilic date for the section as a whole does not exclude the probability of post-exilic glosses, it is unsafe to lay much weight on the reference to the covenant with the beasts (v. 18), or to assert that "David their king" (3:5b) proves that a re-union of Israel and Judah under a Davidic king formed a part of Hosea's hope for the future. Thus we have no certain evidence that there existed before Isaiah any hope for the future of Israel more definite than that the Israelite nation was destined by Jahveh for prosperity, and that long continuance had been predicted for the dynasty of David.

Neither is it clear that Isaiah's contemporary, Micah, had any expectation of a Messiah.<sup>121</sup> Mi. 4-7 contains little or nothing which can be the work of Micah; while Mi. 2:12-13, the only

<sup>120</sup> Harper, *Amos and Hosea*; J. M. P. Smith, *Amos, Hosea, and Micah*; Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*.

<sup>121</sup> J. M. P. Smith, *Amos, Hosea and Micah*; and "Micah, Zephaniah" . . . (Int. Crit. Com.); Marti, *Das Dodekapropheton*.

hopeful passage in the first three chapters, presupposes the exile. There is, however, a possibility that some part of Mi. 5:2-6 may have been the work either of Micah or of some unknown contemporary. The text is corrupt and the passage is obviously not a unit since it speaks of one leader and then of several; but the definite mention of Assyria (vv. 5b, 6) as a conquering world power links the passage with the period of Isaiah and Micah.<sup>122</sup> Mi. 5:2 ff. may be an echo of the Messianic hopes of Isaiah, although again the uncertainty is too great to warrant taking the parallel as evidence for the pre-exilic date of the Isaiah passages.

There is still to be considered whether there is any trace of the influence of Isaiah's ideal on the age immediately following the work of the prophet. II Sam. 7:11-16 is one of the most definite statements in the Old Testament of the permanence of

<sup>122</sup> The statement generally made (H. G. Mitchell, "Haggai, Zechariah . . ." *Int. Crit. Com.*), that "Assyria" was used by post-exilic writers as a name for any world power threatening Israel is not borne out by an examination of the passages. In Ez. 31:3, אֲשׁוּר is not used for Egypt, but is a copyist's error for מִצְרַיִם (Bertholet, *Hezekiel*, p. 160). Ezra 6:22 probably refers to a Persian satrap of Assyria who bore a courtesy title similar to Zerubbabel's (Batten, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, pp. 153, 154). The use of "Babylon" for Persia, Ezra 5:13; Neh. 13:6, which Mitchell gives as parallel, is in both passages due to textual corruption, since Ezra 5:13 should be read according to the text of Esdras "in the first year that Cyrus ruled over the country of Babylon" and Neh. 13:6 should read, parallel to Neh. 2:1, simply "the king" (Batten, *ibid.*). In II Kings 23:29; Is. 10:24; 30:31-33; Jer. 2:18; Ps. 83:8, the Assyrian empire gives the better sense. In most of the other passages the term is used of a geographical not a political division, e. g. Is. 11:11, 16, where it is parallel to Elam, Cush, etc.; Is. 27:13; Lam. 5:6. In Is. 52:4 "Assyria" may be taken as a historical reference, parallel to the sojourn in Egypt. Zech. 10:10-12 refers specifically to Ephraim so that the return should naturally be from Assyria. This leaves unaccounted for only Is. 19:23-25; but if these verses are a continuation of 19:19-22, the mention of the altar in Egypt and the pillar suggests a pre-Deuteronomic date; while if they are a later addition, Assyria may have been substituted for the original name from 20:1.

Zech. 10:10-12 dates from the Greek period. It is therefore possible that in this passage, and perhaps also in Is. 19:23-25, if that is late, "Assyria" is used of the Seleucid kingdom of Syria, a confusion of terms exactly parallel to that in Herodotus (*Enc. Bib.*, article "Syria," § 1). Such a use, however, would give no support for the interpretation of "Assyria" as identical with Babylon or "any enemy of Israel."



the Davidic dynasty and of Jahveh's especial favor for David's descendants. The section in its present form shows plainly its Deuteronomic character, and is probably exilic, but the present form of the passage is clearly not original.<sup>123</sup> The whole point of the original oracle (omitting v. 13) was that David should not build Jahveh a house, but that Jahveh would make David a house. Obviously this section which disapproves of the building of the temple is pre-Deuteronomic and was probably written in the early part of the seventh century,—a result of the national enthusiasm over the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib. Vv. 9, 14, 15a especially emphasize the peculiarly close relation between the king and Jahveh.

The section in Deuteronomy 17:14-20 which describes the duties of the king, emphasizes Isaiah's ideal of right judgment and justice, and agrees with him in disapproval of intercourse with Egypt. If the king fulfills this Deuteronomic law, he and his children shall prolong their days in the kingdom. Thus in spite of the discouragement caused by the reactionary reign of Manasseh, traces of Isaiah's ideal king may be found in the law book of his followers.

The only other description of an ideal king which is possibly pre-exilic is Jer. 23:5-7 (parallel to Jer. 33:14-22). For this passage a *terminus ad quem* is supplied by Zech. 3:8; 6:12, which certainly depend upon it; for the abrupt introduction of the title "Branch" implies a previous and more explicit use of the term.<sup>124</sup> The passage, Jer. 23:5-7, is therefore either exilic or pre-exilic. Cornill<sup>125</sup> argues convincingly for Jeremiah's authorship of at least vv. 5, 6. The passage is entirely ethical; it contains nothing of either war or politics. The expectation of help for Israel and Judah is characteristic of Jeremiah (cf. Jer. 3:6 ff.). The decisive argument is the use of the name יהוה צדקנו, parallel to the name of the reigning king, צדקיה. Zedekiah was always pitied rather than blamed by the

<sup>123</sup> Kennedy, "I and II Samuel" (*New Century Bible*), 1905; H. P. Smith, "Samuel" (*Int. Crit. Com.*), 1899; Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel*, Tübingen, 1902.

<sup>124</sup> Mitchell, "Haggai, Zechariah . . ." (*Int. Crit. Com.*), 1912; Cornill, *Jeremia*, Leipzig, 1905; Duhm, *Jeremias*, Tübingen, 1907; Giesebrecht, *Jeremias*, Göttingen, 1907.

<sup>125</sup> Cornill, *ibid.*, pp. 264, 265.

prophet whose condemnation was for the nobles who influenced him for evil (cf. Jer. 2:8; 10:21; 23:1, 2). Thus Jer. 23:1, 2, 5, 6 gives Jeremiah's verdict on Zedekiah, parallel to those on his predecessors. Jeremiah could not praise Zedekiah himself, but he uses intentionally a similar name for the ideal king who is to come. The idea of a perfect king is evidently not being expressed for the first time in this passage, it is introduced much too casually. Further as Cornill says,<sup>126</sup> Ezekiel knew the Messianic ideal and from Ez. 17:22-24; 34:23, 24, it is clear that he did not create it. Hence it must have originated before the exile. Also it is difficult to account for the assurances of Haggai and Zechariah, or for the brilliant eschatological pictures of a still later time if there had been no definite Messianic prediction by the accredited prophets of the pre-exilic period. Neither the appointment of Zerubbabel as governor of Jerusalem, nor any later event offers in itself a probable origin for a Messianic hope, while the enduring confidence in the ultimate realization of such a hope implies a definite statement of it by prophets who had been accepted as inspired by Jahveh.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion: the expectation of an ideal king ruling in Jerusalem is a natural outgrowth of the historical situation at the end of Hezekiah's reign, since the deliverance of Jerusalem from Sennacherib inspired unlimited confidence both in the power of Jahveh, and in His determination to protect His chosen people. A natural accompaniment of this confidence was an expectation of a return of the power and prosperity of the already idealized days of the United Kingdom. Hezekiah was obviously incapable of being the leader of such a restoration; but Jahveh would provide a successor who should possess the necessary qualifications.

Without the Messianic passages, the thought of Isaiah is incomplete. The destruction which he prophesied was not final, since the account of his prophecy that the city of Jerusalem should remain untaken must have some basis in fact, and some of the passages which predict the punishment of Assyria are

<sup>126</sup> Cornill, *ibid.*

evidently genuine. The Messianic passages are the natural consequence of the fulfilment of these expectations.

On the other hand, there is nothing in the character of the passages themselves which makes the Isaianic authorship improbable. The vocabulary is similar to that of the passages accepted as genuine. The characteristics of the king were drawn largely from the stories of Saul, David, and Solomon in the J portion of the Book of Kings, which existed in written form in the time of Isaiah. The effect of the expressions used is precisely similar to that produced by the conventional series of epithets in the inscriptions of Assyrian kings—formulae which would certainly be known to Isaiah. Other phrases suggest the forms of address used in the Tell-el Amarna letters to the king of Egypt. These forms would be expected to occur in the court style of the Hebrews, who instituted their kingdom in imitation of their Canaanite neighbors.

The king is thus a real not a mythological figure, since the epithets applied to him are all parallel to those used of actual rulers. Further, no reference to a mythological Messiah has yet been found in the literature of Egypt or of Babylonia and Assyria from which the Hebrew conception might have been borrowed, although there are parallels in Egyptian writings to the prediction of an illustrious king. The picture of the peace among the animals may have been drawn from the myth of Paradise, but is used evidently to emphasize extraordinary prosperity and not intended to be understood literally.

Finally, such passages as II Sam. 7:5 ff., Jer. 23:5 ff., prove that a hope for a worthy successor to David was held in the period before the exile. It seems reasonable to suppose that Isaiah was the originator of that hope, and that the Messianic passages, Is. 1:24-27; 9:1-7; 10:33-11:10; 32:1-6(?), were the work of Isaiah.



## VITA

I, Louise Pettibone Smith, was born in Ogdensburg, N. Y., October 4, 1887, my parents being Alonzo Albertus Smith and Louise Pettibone Smith. I was prepared for college by the Ogdensburg Free Academy, and by the Balliol School, Utica, N. Y., and entered Bryn Mawr College in October 1904, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts in June 1908. For three years after graduation, I taught in Hardin College, Mexico, Mo., two years as assistant in English, one year as associate in Latin. In the summer of 1911, I attended the summer quarter of the University of Chicago, taking courses with Professors J. M. P. Smith, Herbert L. Willett, and Lewis B. Paton. In 1911-12, I held the Graduate Scholarship in Semitic languages at Bryn Mawr College and in 1912-13, 1914-15, the Resident Fellowship, taking courses with Prof. George A. Barton. In 1913-14, I held the Thayer Fellowship of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem, and from October 1913 to June 1914, I traveled and studied in Palestine and Egypt under the direction of Prof. George L. Robinson of McCormick Theological Seminary. The summer of 1914 was spent in London in research at the British Museum. In 1915-18, I have been instructor in the department of Biblical History in Wellesley College.

My graduate work at Bryn Mawr has been done under the direction of Prof. George A. Barton; the subject of my dissertation was suggested by him, and the work has been done under his direction. For suggestions of additional references and corrections I am indebted to Prof. J. M. P. Smith of the University of Chicago.

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